History of the USSR The Era of Socialism

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INTRODUCTION

The present edition is based on a text-book for students of history at teacher training colleges and universities in the Soviet Union.

World history and the history of the USSR form an obligatory part of the secondary school curriculum in the USSR. They are considered part of the general education and culture of each new generation. The history of the USSR, particularly the Soviet period, is taken as a special course at teacher training colleges and universities. Naturally in preparing a course of the history of the USSR for Soviet students consideration is given to the fact that those entering the higher educational institutes have already attended courses in the subject at the secondary school level. Thus a work of this kind aims to extend and increase knowledge in this field.

This edition, however, is designed for foreign readers, most of whom do not possess a systematic knowledge of the history of the USSR. It has therefore been subject to certain changes in comparison with the Russian edition. The exposition of material has been made more concise which, it is hoped, will facilitate acquaintance with the book's overall theme. For the same reason the introduction and conclusion have been rewritten and in a number of places essential explanations have been given in brief

and certain changes made in the book's structure. Supplementary material was added to cover the period ending in the early 1980.

The authors believe that in its present edition the book may be used as a teaching aid by foreign readers desiring to acquire systematic knowledge of the history of Soviet society.

* * *

This book is a history of the Soviet peoples in the age of socialism. Its main theme is the transition from capitalism to socialism and the subsequent building of a developed socialist society in the USSR. Doing away with the division of society into the antagonistic classes of exploiters and exploited, creating a society without the exploitation or oppression of man by man and establishing existing socialism was the result of the conscious creative efforts of the whole Soviet people united in an integrated community of workers, peasants and intelligentsia. This book shows the historical road of revolutionary transformation and conscious creative activity that has been traversed by the Soviet people under the guidance of its Communist Party.

The history of the USSR is part of the history of the world. The book shows the role which the USSR has played as the world's first socialist country in the complex international situation that has characterised recent history.

The socialist changes in the lives of the Soviet people began with the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917. Obviously, then, the history of Soviet society begins with the history of this revolution, its development and victory. The October Revolution itself was the result of the whole preceding social development of the country within the system of world capitalism. To understand the nature, character, role and historical significance of the October Revolution it is necessary to see it in the context of the contradictions of world capitalism during the period of its nascent general crisis. But it is also necessary to consider the specifically national characteristics of social development that were peculiar to Russia and that gave the October Revolution its own distinctive stamp.

At the turn of the century capitalism had entered the last stage of its development, the stage of imperialism. The main

contradiction of capitalism—between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation—had reached a state of extreme intensity. This could be seen in the worsening of the periodic crises and their close interconnection with the general crisis of capitalism and with the mass impoverishment of the producers. It was also evident in increasing exploitation of the proletariat and in the intensification of antagonisms between labour and capital. In an age of imperialism the concentration and centralisation of capital led to the formation of all-powerful capitalist amalgamations and the eventual domination of monopoly capital which replaced free competition. The capitalist monopolies, covering as they did whole groups of countries, began the economic redivision of the world that had previously been divided among the most powerful of the capitalist states. An intense struggle flared up among the imperialist states for markets, for investments, for raw materials, for cheap labour and ultimately for world domination. The inevitable result of this struggle were devastating imperialist wars.

But, at the same time, imperialist ambitions to bring about the economic redivision of the world and intensify the plunder of colonies met in the late 19th and early 20th century with serious resistance from the peoples of the colonial and dependent territories.

Thus the age of imperialism is characterised by an unusual intensification of the radical contradictions of capitalism—economic, political, class and national contradictions. All of this shows that capitalism had entered the final stage of its existence and that "imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat".[1]

In these circumstances the fundamental question was how the socialist revolution was to be accomplished. Would it take place on a world scale or at different times in different countries?

It was in answer to this that Lenin evolved his theory of socialist revolution. On the basis of a deep study of imperialism he came to the conclusion that "uneven economic and political

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 194.

development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country alone."[1]

This conclusion constitutes the central argument in Lenin's theory of socialist revolution, which is in itself a creative development of Marx's theory of revolution.

Where, then, would the revolution begin? In which country would the world capitalist front first be broken? To this question Lenin's theory replies quite clearly: the capitalist chain will first be broken at its weakest link.

And the weakest link in the imperialist chain was Russia. Here the world imperialist front was first smashed, and here the world's first victorious socialist revolution took place.

Pre-revolutionary Russia was an integral part of the world capitalist system, developing according to the general laws of capitalism at its imperialist stage. It had, of course, entered the path of capitalist development later than some other countries but its progress along that path was fairly rapid. By the beginning of the 20th century all the features of imperialism were present in the Russian economy. Its industry showed a high level of concentration, the power of the finance capital was increasing and the monopolies were beginning to dominate individual industries and trade. Capitalist relations also developed rapidly in the countryside and the inevitable class and property differentiation among the peasantry resulted in the formation of a minority class of rural bourgeoisie, known as the kulaks, and a majority class of poor peasants. These latter were rapaciously exploited by the kulaks, who now had the advantage of modern capitalist methods.

But for all these changes the economic development of Russia still lagged significantly behind that of many of the countries of Western Europe. The country remained agrarian with more than three quarters of the population engaged in agriculture. This close combination of developed capitalist relations, on the one hand, and feudal, medieval and even pre-feudal relations on the other was what gave the social and economic life of Rus-

[1] V. I. Lenin, "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, 1974, p. 342.

sia its essentially distinctive characteristics. Alongside the big industrial monopolies there were still vast estates in the countryside owned by individual landowners.

Corresponding to these complex socio-economic relations in Russia was the complex social structure of the population.

By 1917 the population of Russia (within its pre-1939 borders) was in excess of 140 million. It was divided into four classes—the working class, the bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the landowners, and the intermediate stratum of intelligentsia. But in the outlying border regions of the North and East there was as yet no clear class differentiation among many of the non-Russian nationalities, which were still in the pre-feudal state of development. The working and exploited masses formed five-sixths of the country's population. At the other end of the scale there was the small minority of exploiters, landowners and capitalists, which formed less than 2 per cent of the population. In Russia as in all the capitalist countries there were two main classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The working class in pre-revolutionary Russia was comparatively small. The industrial working class amounted to some 3.2 million and the total number of workers of all categories including agricultural workers was approximately 18.5 million. The mass of the industrial working class was concentrated in the central regions of the European part of Russia and in Petrograd. Among the numerous non-Russian nationalities the working class either did not exist at all, or was just in its infancy. The embryonic state of Russian capitalism and its industry accounted for the small number and inexperience of the Russian proletariat. But, on the other hand, it was also highly concentrated. In 1917 60 per cent of the industrial work force in Russia was to be found in the major enterprises, which formed only 6 per cent of all the factories and plants in the country. The levels of concentration of industrial production and of the working class in pre-revolutionary Russia were higher than in the most developed capitalist countries in the world. This was progressive in so far as it helped to develop in the working class such qualities as organisation and solidarity in the struggle for its class interests. Having been subjected to unbelievably hard exploitation and oppression, the Russian proletariat formed comparatively rapidly

as a political force capable of leading the liberation movement of the exploited masses of the working people. "The strength of the proletariat in any capitalist country is far greater than the proportion it represents of the total population."[1] This thesis propounded by Lenin was particularly applicable to the working class in Russia.

There is no precise information about the size of the Russian bourgeoisie with figures ranging from 2 to 4 million being given by scholars. But in its hands or rather in the hands of its monopolist upper crust, were concentrated the basic means of production. In 1914 the private capitalist sector accounted for 56 per cent of the overall wealth of the country. The First World War increased the influence of the monopolies on the economic life of the country.

The landowning class in Russia was numerically the smallest. Before the October Revolution there were approximately 155,000 landowners. But though they comprised less than one per cent of the country's population the landowners held one-third of all arable land. Furthermore, less than 28,000 of these (whose estates were greater than 500 dessiatines) possessed a total land area equal to 45 per cent of all peasant lands. The largest landowner in the whole of the Russian empire was the tsar himself. The tsar's family possessed more than 7 million dessiatines of land, which was more than that owned by half a million peasant families. The landowners were the most reactionary force and an obstacle to social progress. They preserved the backwardness and barbaric forms of social life in Russia. They cruelly exploited the peasants, dooming them to a life of poverty and hunger. After the February Revolution in 1917 the position of the landowners worsened slightly, which was only to be expected since the country's greatest landowner, Nicholas II had been deposed.

The largest class in Russia was the petty bourgeoisie, the mass of which was comprised of the peasantry. Characterising the fate of the peasantry in pre-revolutionary Russia, Lenin wrote: "In no other country in the world has the peasantry, after its

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, 1977, p. 274.

'emancipation', experienced such ruination, such poverty, such humiliations and such outrageous treatment as in Russia."[1]

But the Russian peasantry in pre-revolutionary times did not constitute an homogeneous class. It was stratified into various social groups. At the bottom of the scale were poor peasants who represented 65 per cent of the total peasant population. Next above them stood the gradually eroding group of middle peasants (20 per cent). The kulaks at the top represented only 15 per cent of the peasant population.

The working peasantry suffered not only from the landlords, but also from the rural bourgeoisie. In the villages two struggles were currently being waged: in one the whole of the peasantry fought against the landlords who clang to the vestiges of feudalism, in the other the poor peasantry stood opposed to the capitalist exploiters—the kulaks.

The course of political developments in Russia in the early 20th century set all the classes in motion and forced each to define its position with regard to the subsequent fate of the country. Of all the struggling classes only the proletariat was a consistently progressive, revolutionary force. The Russian bourgeoisie was a reactionary force. It even opposed the revolution that was to do away with the vestiges of the medieval, feudal order, the bourgeois revolution itself. One of the main characteristics of the early 20th century Russian political history was the fact that the proletariat stood as the leader of all three revolutions (the first bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905-1907, the second bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917 and the socialist revolution of October 1917).

The correlation of the class forces and the political situation in the country were reflected in the struggle of the political parties and their historical fates.

By the beginning of the socialist revolution there were political parties representing all the classes in Russia.

The first of these parties to form was the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP), the party of the proletariat. In the mid-1890s Lenin had formed in St. Petersburg an em-

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Fall of Serfdom", *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, 1965, p. 89.

bryonic Russian Marxist party called the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. In 1898 the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party held its own Constituent Congress and at its Second Congress in 1903 the Bolshevik Party first came into existence.[1]

The Bolshevik Party was the party of a new type—a genuinely Marxist revolutionary party of the working class. Under the guidance of its organiser and leader, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, it led the Russian working class in its revolutionary struggle at a time when the leading role in the workers' movement in other countries belonged to the reformist social-democratic parties. Furthermore, in Russia the working-class party was formed before the trade unions, whereas in Western Europe the trade unions first made their appearance in the late 18th century, i.e., long before the formation of the working-class parties. This to a large extent explains the militant, revolutionary character of the Russian trade unions and their solidarity with the party. The first trade unions in Russia sprang up during the 1905-1907 revolution and it was the Bolsheviks that provided the ideological leadership and inspiration for the trade unions that took active part in the political and economic struggle of the working class.

The Bolshevik Party taught the working class and all the other working people to wage an implacable struggle against the bourgeois-landowning exploiters and all forms of social oppression. The result of their efforts in this direction and of their organisational activity was a steady growth in the political consciousness of the working class and its ally, the working peasantry, and their readiness to undertake decisive revolutionary struggle. The continual growth of the influence and prestige of the Bolshevik Party among the masses is a fact of outstanding importance in the political history of Russia, for it affected the whole subsequent development of the revolution. Thus by the time of the October Revolution itself, the Bolsheviks had united in their ranks 350,000 members.

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[1] From the Second RSDLP Congress onwards Lenin's supporters, who were revolutionaries and who received the majority of votes in the elections to the Party's leading organs, began to be called *Bolsheviks* (majority men), while Lenin's opponents, who represented the reformist minority, were called *Mensheviks* (minority men).

The bourgeoisie also had its own political parties, chief among which was the Constitutional-Democratic Party known as the Cadets. This party came into being in 1905 as an alliance between the liberal bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia, and it was no accident that the leader of this party was Professor P. N. Milyukov, a typical representative of the bourgeois intelligentsia. Throughout its period of existence this party changed its name several times. After the February Revolution, for example, it called itself the "People's Freedom Party", but the old name "Cadets" still stuck.

The fundamental platform of the Cadet Party was the "sanctity of private property", while their position regarding the type of government in the country changed according to circumstances. The programme adopted at their first congress spoke of constitutional structure and popular representation. But, as Lenin put it, their ideal was "to perpetuate bourgeois exploitation in respectable, civilised, parliamentary forms".[1] After the defeat of the first Russian revolution, when the power of the tsar strengthened, the term "parliamentary monarchy" appeared in the Cadets' programme instead of "parliamentary state" which had been used previously. But after the October Revolution in 1917 the Cadets returned to their old wording, but called instead this time for a "parliamentary republic".

Initially the Cadets were opposed to tsarism. They looked to the people for support, claiming that their party was classless and was working for the good of the whole people. But in reality they tried to use popular support to achieve their own class aim—the establishment of bourgeois political power, an aim which was diametrically opposed to the interests of the working people. This is why in the struggle for power in 1905 they bargained with autocracy so as to prevent a popular victory in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. When Russia entered the First World War, the Cadets proclaimed, in the words of their leader Milyukov: "Our past and our future are in this war." But when, as the war dragged on, the tsarist government went politically bankrupt and popular revolution was in the offing, the Cadets came

[1] V. I. Lenin, "An Attempt at a Classification of the Political Parties of Russia", *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, 1972, p. 229.

out against autocracy in an attempt to save their skins. But the solution they sought lay not in the overthrow of the monarchy, but in the replacement of one tsar by another. Thus, in the February Revolution the Cadets made a futile attempt to put Mikhail Romanov, brother of the deposed tsar, on the throne. After the February Revolution the Cadets joined the bourgeois Provisional Government and held some ministerial posts. Milyukov, for instance, became Minister of Foreign Affairs and continued the expansionist policies of the tsar.

There is no precise information on the size of the Cadet Party, but scholars estimate that it was not likely to have had more than several dozen thousand members.

By the time of the October Revolution the influence of the Cadet Party had waned considerably. Among the people the word "Cadet" increasingly became synonymous with "enemy of the revolution". In 1917 they were the most counter-revolutionary of all the main legal parties.

An active political and party struggle was also carried out by the landowning class. Together with the retrograde and reactionary strata of the bourgeoisie they had various organisations, which strictly speaking were not political parties at all, but nevertheless represented a considerable reactionary and counter-revolutionary force. These "parties" were not impressive, independent forces, but they were highly active and through their actions the political situation was made considerably more complicated as they did everything to impede the political progress of the country. They all stood on the extreme right, fighting hard against their own people and the growing revolution, and trying one way or another to save the monarchic system in Russia. The October Revolution, of course, swept them all from the political arena.

An important place among the political parties of Russia was held by the petty-bourgeois parties, most numerous among which was the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. Formed in late 1901 it largely consisted of the radical intelligentsia. The Socialist Revolutionaries considered themselves the successors of the Narodniks, and they certainly had a good deal in common with them both in ideological outlook and in the forms and methods they used to wage their struggle. The political programme of the

Socialist-Revolutionaries, however, was just a collection of petty-bourgeois socialist utopian demands.

Thus they tried to pursue a policy of uniting all the working people, intelligentsia, peasants, workers and artisans irrespective of their class. Such a policy resulted in the Socialist-Revolutionaries becoming typical spokesmen for the petty bourgeoisie. They looked upon themselves primarily as a peasant party, as in their opinion it was the peasants who were primarily the bearers of revolutionary and socialist ideas. The future agrarian system in Russia should, they claimed, "rely on the communal work, outlook and traditions of the Russian peasantry". But they refused to recognize the existence of class differentiation among the peasantry. Their goal of uniting the proletariat and the peasantry into a "single working class" showed the inconsistency and confusion of Socialist-Revolutionary thinking.

Thus in the land question their demand for "socialisation of the land" amounted to taking the land away from the big landowners and the monasteries, handing it over to the village commune (instead of the state) and then sharing it out equally among the peasants giving each the right of usufruct. Furthermore, this was to be done leaving the bourgeois state intact. But though socialisation of the land and its equal sharing among the peasants would do away with the landowning class and other vestiges of medieval serfdom, it could not eradicate capitalism in the village or help establish socialist relations there. By disregarding the class split that had taken place among the peasantry, the Socialist-Revolutionaries could not see the antagonisms that existed among its various groups. The result of this was that though they frequently spoke out against the kulak "blood-suckers", in point of fact their policies were such as to support and even rely on the "strong peasant farmer". The Socialist-Revolutionaries did great harm to the working class and its political formation and organisation as the leading revolutionary force in society. They confused the class consciousness of the proletariat and led them astray, and thus they functioned as opponents of Marxism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

From the idealistic positions they held on the course of social development, they believed that the decisive role in history is played by advanced, educated individuals with revolutionary

ideas. These resolute characters could, they thought, alter the whole course of history by such actions as the assassination of a politician or ruler. For this reason terrorism was considered the chief means of conducting revolutionary struggle. The Socialist-Revolutionaries committed a number of major acts of terrorism against the tsarist regime, from which they gained a certain fame. But the Socialist-Revolutionaries' methods of individual acts of terrorism were just a manifestation of petty-bourgeois "revolutionary adventurism" and they did nothing but harm to the liberation movement of the people.

After the defeat of the 1905-1907 Revolution the Socialist-Revolutionary Party suffered a severe crisis. The rightists, who demanded an end to terrorism, broke away and formed their own legal party of Popular Socialists, while the left-wingers formed an organisation called the Union of Socialist-Revolutionaries Maximalists. The Maximalists called for immediate social revolution through "direct action", by which they meant terrorism, armed uprising, the seizure of power and expropriation. They rejected all parliamentary means of struggle and refused to participate in any government institutions.

By the outbreak of the First World War the Socialist Revolutionary party was, according to its own leaders, seriously on the decline. But after the February Revolution in 1917 the Socialist-Revolutionaries received new impetus as their membership rapidly increased due to the influence of the petty-bourgeois element. By mid-1917 they were the largest party in Russia at the time with a membership of approximately 400,000.

The policies of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party and its subsequent fate will be dealt with in more detail in the main part of the book. Here it is only necessary to stress that in the period between the February and the October Revolutions of 1917 it evolved from a party of conciliators to a party of counter-revolutionaries.

The second largest petty-bourgeois party in Russia were the Mensheviks. They formed as a party after the split in the RSDLP in 1903 from its opportunist, revisionist section. As distinct from the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who claimed to represent all the working people, the Mensheviks considered themselves the party of the working class and followers of Marx. But "Menshevik

Marxism" was "Marxism recut to the measurements of bourgeois liberalism".[1] The Russian Mensheviks, like the other parties from other countries that resembled them in the Second International, served only to further bourgeois influence on the working class and played the role of bourgeois agents in the working-class movement. Their basic ideological and political position was rejection of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They were a typical social-reformist party, whose ideal was a bourgeois parliamentary republic. More than anything else the Mensheviks were afraid of independent proletarian power. After the February Revolution in 1917 they like the Socialist-Revolutionaries were only too ready to hand over the reins of power to the bourgeoisie. Then, after the events of July 1917 they finally went over to the side of the counter-revolution. In August 1917 the Menshevik Party had a membership of more than 190,000, but subsequently its influence on the masses waned and its membership fell drastically. Even before the October Revolution, however, Menshevism was undergoing a severe crisis which ultimately led to its complete collapse. After the July events, when the Menshevik Party joined the counter-revolution, its left wing who called themselves "internationalists" grew stronger, and opposed the party leadership on a number of issues, particularly the continuation of the war. Soon after the Menshevik congress, which was held in August, 1917, a small group of left elements broke away and joined the Bolshevik Party.

In addition to the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks there were also a number of small and poorly organised groupings, which were also formed from the petty-bourgeois socialists. Noteworthy among these were the anarchists who proclaimed "socialism without the state". All the anarchist groupings, irrespective of their views on individual issues, were opposed to state power and took a negative line even on the proletarian state. Those anarchist groups that were formed before the 1905-1907 Revolution took little part in the events and after the defeat of the revolution were left in complete disarray. They did not ap-

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Attitude Towards Bourgeois Parties", *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, 1972, p. 499.

pear in any strength again until after the February Revolution, when anarchist groups and associations began to spring up in the larger cities. Politically they were resolutely opposed to the Provisional Government and the imperialist war, and sharply critical of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and other political parties, and they called upon the workers to take control of the factories and the peasants to seize the land. Lenin described anarchist policies as the tactics of despair. Despite their short flurry of activity in 1917, the anarchists still had no real influence among the people.

The characteristic feature of all the petty-bourgeois parties was lack of unity between the views and actions of the leaders and the rank-and-file members. They were constantly riven by dissent and rivalry among the various factions and groups. Organisationally they were weak and amorphous, as was only to be expected given the dual nature of the petty bourgeoisie and its political instability.

Russia was a multinational state comprising numerous different peoples, only 48 per cent of whom were actually Russians. The non-Russian peoples, who together formed a majority of the total population, were mostly at the pre-capitalist stage of development, in which feudal, patriarchal, and in some cases even tribal, relations dominated. Only a very few of them had reached the stage of capitalism. Tsarism pursued a harsh colonialist policy in the border regions to the detriment of the economic, political and cultural interests of the native population. The working masses of the non-Russian population suffered both social and national oppression. Full of hatred for tsarism, they fought for national equality. But at the same time they rose against their own exploiters and oppressors. In their struggle for social and national liberation the most politically conscious section of the working people in the border regions came under the influence of revolutionary social democracy, which was gradually gaining ground in these areas. But alongside the Bolshevik Party, which was the internationalist party of the proletariat, there also existed bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist parties. Although these latter made their own specific programme demands, which reflected their nationalist leanings, from the class point of view they were similar to the bourgeois and petty-

bourgeois parties of Russia—the Cadets, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks.

The existence of nationalist parties in a country, where owing to its multinational population the national question was of acute importance, served to complicate the political situation and made it essential that the party of the proletariat showed great flexibility in its revolutionary tactics.

Of all the numerous parties that functioned in pre-revolutionary Russia only one, the Bolshevik Party, had a scientific theory and programme evolved by its outstanding leader Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Only this party was capable of leading the country on the road to real progress and socialism. At the First All-Russia Congress of Soviets Tsereteli, the Menshevik leader, declared that there was no single party in Russia that was able to assume political power by itself. In respect of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties this statement was quite justified. But it did not apply to the Bolshevik Party. In answer to Tsereteli Lenin stood up and declared before the congress and the world "There is such a party!" And history has borne out his words.

It is a fact of outstanding historical importance that in the twelve years from 1905 to 1917 the proletarian, working population of Russia accomplished three political revolutions—the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution of 1905-1907, the February Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution of 1917 and the October Socialist Revolution in the same year. This shows convincingly that Russia was the centre of the world revolutionary movement.

The success of the Bolshevik Party and the proletariat in the October Revolution was to a considerable extent determined by the laws of socio-historical development and the experience gained in the previous stages of the Russian revolution, in the course of which the proletariat and the working peasantry reached a high level of political maturity.

The first Russian revolution was of immense international significance in so far as it was the first popular revolution to take place in the age of imperialism. The overall internal significance of the revolution consisted in that it served, in Lenin's words, as a dress rehearsal for the revolutions of 1917. "Without such a 'dress rehearsal' as we had in 1905, the revolutions of 1917—both the bourgeois, February revolution and the proletarian,

October revolution—would have been impossible."[1] An important fact to note is that it was during the first Russian revolution that the Soviets of Workers' Deputies sprang up in Russia. These were not only organs of the insurrection, but the embryonic forms of workers' and peasants' power and their revolutionary democratic dictatorship. They were the prototype of the Soviet power which was established after the October Revolution.

The first Russian Revolution was defeated. But its causes still remained and only got worse as time went by. The First World War rapidly hastened the process of revolutionary fermentation as it brought ruin to the country and hunger and immeasurable suffering to the people (though for the capitalists it was a source of immense profit). Particularly grievous was the situation at the front. After some initial success the tsarist army suffered a series of defeats. The Germans occupied Poland, part of the Baltic area and Byelorussia, and Russia itself faced the threat of losing national independence. The people were bitterly discontented with the war and with the policies of the tsarist regime. One result of all this was an upsurge in the workers' movement. In 1916 there were more than 1,500 strikes in which upwards of one million workers took part. In the countryside the peasants began seizing the landowners' grain and implements and burning their estates. All over the country there were signs of ferment among the oppressed peoples. In the same year revolts broke out in Kazakhstan and Central Asia involving millions of people. Everywhere on the front soldiers were refusing to fight and fraternisation with the enemy was not infrequent. This tide of revolution could not be stemmed by the manoeuvres of either tsarism or the Russian bourgeoisie and in February 1917 the second Russian revolution broke out.

On February 23, 1917 a mass demonstration was held in Petrograd ostensibly to mark International Women's Day. The demonstrators carried placards with such slogans as "Bread!", "Down with the war!" and "Down with autocracy!" On February 25 there was a general strike during which clashes took place with the police. Nicholas II issued orders from the General Headquarters that

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, 1977, p. 310.

"not later than tomorrow a stop should be put to the disorders in the capital". But that "tomorrow" was a fateful day for the Russian monarch—it was his last day in power. On February 26 the Bolsheviks called upon the workers to turn their political strike into an uprising. Workers disarmed the police and armed themselves. In this situation the armed forces began to waver. The Bolsheviks called upon them to join the revolution telling them that only a fraternal union between the working class and the revolutionary army could bring about the liberation of the enslaved people and put an end to the senseless war.

On February 27 the uprising spread through the whole of Petrograd. Soldiers began to come over to the side of the revolution and by evening more than sixty thousand of the city garrison had joined the insurgents. The Bolshevik Party called upon the workers and soldiers to form their own Soviets and by nightfall on the 27th representatives from factories and military units had gathered in the Taurida Palace to form a single revolutionary organisation—the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Thus the militant alliance of workers and peasants in soldiers' uniforms was created to become the decisive force of the revolution. The Petrograd uprising was supported by similar action throughout the country and everywhere Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies sprang up. In the advanced industrial regions of the country the Soviets on their own carried out important revolutionary measures: the eight-hour working day was introduced, the police were disbanded, the Red Guard set up, the tsarist courts were abolished and new people's courts set up to replace them. The Soviets were the organs of the uprising, the organs by which the workers and peasants who had accomplished the revolution were able to exercise their power.

But the bourgeoisie did not sit idly by. On the day of victory in the revolutionary uprising the bourgeois State Duma formed a Provisional Committee, which was charged with "restoring order" in the capital. The bourgeoisie did everything to save the monarchy and preserve the old system. They persuaded Nicholas II to sign a manifesto renouncing power for himself and his son in favour of his brother Mikhail. But bourgeois attempts to save the monarchy came to nothing. Its fate depended on the will of the revolutionary workers and soldiers who decisively re-

jected these plans. Thus was ended the Romanov dynasty, which had tyrannised the people for 300 years.

With the fall of autocracy and the victory of the people's revolution Russia became the freest country among all the warring states. The internal political situation was now favourable for the further development of the revolution with the broad participation of the masses. The Bolshevik Party, which since its foundation had been compelled to work underground, was now able to come freely out into the open. But the masses were still not politically mature or conscious enough to immediately unite under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. This resulted in a political mistake, which though potentially dangerous was not of long duration. They allowed the petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks to lead them astray. With the support of these conciliatory parties the bourgeoisie set up its own organs of power. Thus on March 2, when it had become clear that there could be no retention of the monarchy through replacing one tsar by another, the bourgeoisie and the landowners formed a Provisional Government headed by Prince Lvov. The majority of the ministers of this government were either Cadets or belonged to similar groupings. Among the members of the Provisional Government was the Socialist-Revolutionary, Kerensky, who had not been delegated by anyone, but who was included as a "hostage to democracy" to deceive the masses. The bourgeois Provisional Government functioned as the official organ of state power in Russia. Both its foreign and domestic policy expressed the interests of the capitalists and landowners and in a slightly modified form it continued the old policies of dominating the exploited and oppressed masses of the people.

Thus dual power was established in Russia in the form of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and the Provisional Government. Real power was to a large extent in the hands of the Soviets and they could have governed alone. But immediately after the February Revolution the majority of the Soviets were controlled by Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, who would not even entertain the idea of worker and peasant rule. In their desire for a bourgeois parliamentary system they did everything they could to ensure that political power was given over entirely to the bourgeoisie. Later on, fearing the growing

people's revolution, they negotiated a deal with the bourgeois parties and together formed a coalition government in which they were given a number of ministerial posts. This marked the end of dual power in favour of the bourgeois counter-revolution as the petty-bourgeois conciliators went fully over to the bourgeois camp.

In the complex political struggle of parties and classes that followed the overthrow of tsarism, the Bolshevik Party formed its political army that a few months later under its leadership accomplished the proletarian socialist revolution.

The victory of the October Revolution made Russia the world's first socialist country. This book is an attempt to show how the October Revolution made it possible for the Soviet people to build a new, socialist society and go further along the road to communism.

CHAPTER ONE

THE TRIUMPH OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

1. SETTING THE SIGHTS ON THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Lenin's April Theses

Having emerged from underground after the collapse of the autocracy the Bolsheviks headed the struggle of the masses for peace, land and freedom. *Pravda,* banned by the tsarist authorities in 1914, resumed publication on March 5, 1917. The Bolshevik Party explained to the people that after the fall of tsarism the revolution had entered a new, socialist stage of its development. They based their revolutionary tactics on the conclusion, arrived at by Lenin even before the overthrow of the autocracy, that the imminent revolution in Russia could only take the form of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry and that the Soviets must become the bodies of the people's revolutionary government.

However, the situation that took shape after the February revolution proved to be extremely complex and peculiar. After the February revolution, before Lenin arrived in Petrograd, some of the leading Party functionaries failed to assess the situation correctly or see the ways of further revolutionary development. They adopted an erroneous stand with regard to the Provisional Government and its policy, believing that under the working class' control a bourgeois government could carry out workers' and peasants' demands; they did not raise the question of the transfer

of all power to the Soviets. Kamenev and his supporters tried to impose on the Party a policy of conditional support for the Provisional Government and advocated the continuation of the imperialist war with the slogan "bullet for bullet".

During the February revolution Lenin was in emigration. The Provisional Government raised all kinds of obstacles to his return to Russia.

On April 3[1] Lenin arrived in Petrograd. The welcome accorded to the leader of the working people turned into a mighty revolutionary demonstration. The square in front of the Finland Railway Station was filled by thousands of workers, soldiers and sailors who waited for the train to arrive. Addressing the people from an armoured car Lenin ended his speech with the words "Long live the socialist revolution!"

At a meeting of Bolsheviks on April 4 Lenin made a report: "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution", which came to be known in history as the April Theses. This report was an event of momentous importance; it determined the Party's strategic line at the new stage of the revolution and outlined its tactics. The April Theses were a concrete plan of the struggle for the triumph of the socialist revolution. "The specific feature of the present situation in Russia," Lenin wrote, "is that the country is *passing* from the first stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organisation of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—to its *second* stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants."[2]

Consequently, the point at issue was developing the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

From the experience of the work of the Soviets, Lenin put forward the idea of a republic of Soviets. (Formerly, the Marxists considered a parliamentary republic to be the best form of government in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.) In his Theses Lenin demonstrated that in the Russia

[1] Till February 14 (1), 1918, the dates are given according to the old style.—*Ed.*

[2] V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution", *Collected Works,* Vol. 24, 1977, p. 22.

of 1917, when the creative genius of the masses brought the Soviets into being, only the Soviets could and should provide the most expedient form for the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said: "Not a parliamentary republic—to return to a parliamentary republic from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would be a retrograde step—but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom."[1]

The establishment of a republic of Soviets opened vast, unprecedented opportunities for increasing the activity of the masses and for their direct participation in the running of state affairs. Lenin's proposition about Soviets as a form of state power of the proletariat was a major step forward in the development of the Marxist theory of the state.

In the April Theses Lenin clearly expressed the attitude to the Provisional Government in his slogan: "No support for the Provisional Government!" The Theses emphasised that owing to the class character of the Provisional Government, the war undoubtedly remained imperialist and predatory by nature. The task of the Party, therefore, was to explain to the masses the existence of an indissoluble link between capital and the imperialist war and bring home to them the idea that the war could culminate in a democratic peace provided only that the bourgeoisie was divested of power and that all power went over to the Soviets. "All power to the Soviets!" became a key slogan in the struggle for a further development of the revolution.

One of the central ideas of Lenin's Theses was that of a peaceful development of the revolution.

An exhaustive analysis of the situation in Russia after the overthrow of tsarism brought Lenin to the conclusion that at that time the revolution could be accomplished peacefully. This conclusion resulted from the fact that the Provisional Government as the official state power had no real force capable of suppressing the revolution. The masses, including the armed forces, supported the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. In these conditions a firm intention on the part of the Soviets would suffice to take the whole power into their hands.

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[1] Ibid., p. 23.

The Soviets could take power in a peaceful way. Inasmuch as the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who headed the Soviets, would have continued to pursue their conciliatory policy with regard to the bourgeoisie, the Bolsheviks, by exposing the conciliators and isolating them politically, could win the majority in the Soviets through elections. After winning the majority in the Soviets, the Bolsheviks could form their government and shape its policy in accordance with their programme. "This course," Lenin wrote, "would have been the least painful, and it was therefore necessary to fight for it most energetically."[1]

In the economic sphere the April Theses provided for the confiscation of landed estates and the nationalisation of all land, the merger of the banks into a single national bank controlled by the Soviets and the institution of their control over the production and distribution of all products. Although these measures did not imply the immediate introduction of socialism in Russia they were nevertheless the initial steps towards it and constituted an integral part of a single programme for the transition to the socialist revolution.

Equipped with Lenin's Theses, the Bolshevik Party set the sights on the socialist revolution and worked vigorously to mobilise the masses and organise revolutionary forces for the socialist overturn.

To this end the Bolshevik Party drew on the increasing revolutionary activity of the masses. That organisation of the revolutionary proletariat improved in 1917 was seen both in the development of the tried and tested forms and the evolvement of new ones promoting the consolidation of the masses. The most important of them were the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies which united broad sections of the population.

In addition to the Soviets, 1917 witnessed the emergence and development of other forms of organisation of the working people. Trade unions were unquestionably the biggest mass organisation of the working people. Many of them were banned during the years of reaction and war, but after the February revolution trade unions began to reappear one after another. Besides, new

[1] V. I. Lenin, "On Slogans", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, 1977, p. 187.

workers' organisations—factory committees—sprang up at industrial enterprises. Workers elected their representatives to them, and they most consistently championed their interests.

A workers' militia was instituted in Petrograd and other major cities and industrial centres, such as Nizhny Novgorod (now Gorky), Ivanovo-Voznesensk (now Ivanovo), etc. Workers took turns to serve in the militia, while remaining on the staff and on the pay-roll of their respective enterprises.

Soldiers' committees formed in military units on the battle-front and in the rear united the masses of soldiers; they were the embryonic form of revolutionary power in the army. The Soviets of Soldiers' Deputies and committees played an important part in removing counter-revolutionary commanders and in winning over the soldiers for an active struggle under the slogan "All power to the Soviets!"

In the countryside, village and provincial Peasants' Soviets and committees were set up on the initiative of peasants and with workers' support. They helped to mobilise the revolutionary forces of the peasantry.

Mass revolutionary organisations recognised the leading role of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, which ensured a reliable mass support to the Soviets and enhanced their prestige and authority.

But the conciliatory Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary parties still had the trust of the majority of mass organisations. Among a section of the working class, and especially among the soldiers and peasants, there were quite a few people who sincerely believed the Mensheviks' and Socialist-Revolutionaries' assertions that the war was necessary and that it was being waged to defend the country and the revolution. Lenin referred to these people as honestly deluded defencists and revealed the entire harmfulness of their stand.

On April 24, the Bolshevik Party opened its Seventh (April) Conference in Petrograd. Its decisions were based on Lenin's April Theses. The conference determined the policy of the Leninist Party on all crucial issues of the revolution. It adopted Lenin's strategic plan for the socialist revolution and outlined the Party's tactics given a peaceful development of that revolution. In accordance with the April Conference's decisions the Bolshe-

viks launched a vigorous campaign to win the masses over to their side, and to organise and educate them politically.

The development of the revolutionary struggle led to a series of acute political crises. The first such crisis was triggered off on April 18 when the Foreign Minister P. N. Milyukov declared in a special note to the allies that the Provisional Government would continue the war to a victorious end. On April 20 Milyukov's note became known to workers and soldiers. Petrograd became the scene of many spontaneous demonstrations; their participants carried streamers which read: "Down with the war!", "Down with Milyukov!"

The Bolsheviks were at the head of the mass movement. In the morning of April 20, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party passed a resolution emphasising the need to explain to the masses that they should not limit their demands to Milyukov's removal, but should strive to achieve the transfer of all state power to the Soviets which would form a government capable of ending the war with a truly democratic peace. Meetings were held at all factories and mills, explaining the resolution of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. At a number of meetings workers voiced their protest against the imperialist policy pursued by the Government. On April 21, some 100,000 Petrograd workers and soldiers went into the streets carrying the Bolshevik slogan: "All power to the Soviets!"

The April crisis demonstrated that the Provisional Government did not enjoy the support of the masses. At that moment the Petrograd Soviet could have easily taken power into its hands. But the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik leaders of the Petrograd Soviet prevented this and entered into negotiations with the Provisional Government. As a result of their deal with the Provisional Government, a text was worked out "explaining" Milyukov's note. On April 21, the majority of the Soviet's Executive Committee acknowledged the explanation of the note as satisfying and the issue settled.

The countrywide April crisis, the first political crisis after the February revolution, clearly demonstrated that the Provisional Government could not consider its existence as firm and secure. For this reason the bourgeoisie thought it necessary to expand the social basis of power. On May 5, a coalition government was

formed, including the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries (S.R.s). "Socialist" Alexander Kerensky became the Minister of War and Navy.

The policy pursued by the coalition government did not differ in any way from that of the former government. The coalition Provisional Government continued to lead the country along the road of war, ruin and hunger, towards an unavoidable national catastrophe.

The "socialist" ministers did all they could to help the capitalists and landowners to establish "order" in the country. They opposed workers' strikes, hampered the proletariat's struggle for higher wages and urged the peasants not to seize land belonging to landowners without authorisation.

In the course of class battles the organisation and political consciousness of the working class grew steadily: between February and July 1917 the membership of the Bolshevik Party nearly trebled. Trade unions, too, registered a rapid growth and gained in strength. At the end of June, nearly 1,400,000 trade union members were represented at the Third All-Russia Trade Union Conference. By that time the Bolsheviks had gained leadership of the biggest trade unions (metal and textile workers and tanners). In the trade union councils of Petrograd and Moscow Bolsheviks' influence was predominant.

During the first months of the revolution the Bolshevik Party launched a vigorous campaign for setting up a revolutionary youth organisation. In the summer of 1917 socialist working-youth leagues sprang up in Petrograd, Moscow and other industrial centres of Russia, forming the basis for the future communist youth organisation.

The striving of the proletariat to arm itself testified to the growth of its revolutionary maturity. The detachments of the workers' militia and of the Red Guard, formed in major industrial centres, grew in number and consolidated organisationally.

The development of the mass peasant movement was seriously hampered by the influence of the Socialist-Revolutionaries in peasant organisations, particularly in the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies dominated by rich peasants. One evidence of the dominating influence of the Socialist-Revolutionaries on the peasantry and their organisations was the First All-Russia Congress

of Soviets of Peasants' Deputies held in Petrograd in May 1917. At this congress the Bolsheviks accounted for less than 2 per cent of the delegates. Resolutions tabled by the Socialist-Revolutionaries were adopted on all the basic points of the agenda. However, mandates from localities and many rank-and-file delegates, who attended the conferences held during the congress, voiced the serious dissatisfaction of peasant soldiers and the rural poor with the agrarian policy of the Government and the continuation of the imperialist war.

Nearly half of the able-bodied peasants and a sizeable part of the workers were in the army. The soldiers were determined to take part in the struggle for peace and land. Not infrequently peasants in soldiers' uniforms initiated the actions of the peasants in the rear of the country and in the front-line zone. The soldiers followed the development of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat with sympathy, assimilating the ideas of that struggle. They took an active part in the campaign to remove counter-revolutionary commanders.

After the February revolution the Bolsheviks established military Party organisations among the soldiers, and a Military Bureau was set up under the CC of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party to guide the work in military units. The first issue of the Bolshevik newspaper *Soldatskaya Pravda* appeared in April, and *Okopnaya Pravda* began to be published at the Northern Front. Together with *Pravda* these newspapers played an important role in the revolutionary education of the soldiers. Many leading Bolsheviks carried on political work at the front.

Meanwhile there was a marked upsurge in the national liberation movement. A delimitation was taking place between the policy of the nationalistic upper crust who openly embarked on the road of the anti-popular, reactionary-bourgeois nationalist movement, and the struggle of the working masses of the oppressed nationalities who were joining the struggle against the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie and, at the same time, breaking away from "their own" counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

The liberation movement of the oppressed masses in the national regions was an important element in the mounting revolutionary tide.

The Provisional Government did nothing to solve the national

question. Adhering to the policy of a "single and indivisible Russia", it refused to expand the rights of the Finnish diet, and rejected the proposals on the Ukraine's autonomy put forward by the bourgeois Ukrainian Central Rada formed soon after the February revolution. The Turkestan Committee set up to administer Central Asia pursued a great-power, colonialist policy. It placed former tsarist officials and local feudals to all administrative posts.

The great-power policy pursued by the Provisional Government aroused discontent and indignation among the broad masses in the national border lands. They vigorously opposed the continued national-colonial oppression and demanded equal rights for all nations.

The Bolshevik Party sought to merge the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples with the working-class struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and to form an alliance between the Russian proletariat and the peasantry in the national regions. On the other hand, bourgeois nationalists in these regions, using national demands as a cover, sought to isolate and alienate the peoples.

In spite of all the efforts of the bourgeois nationalists, Bolshevik slogans reached the masses and made a revolutionary impact on them. The national revolutionary-democratic movement merged with the general struggle waged by the working people of Russia for the socialist revolution.

The Bolshevik Party worked persistently to rally the revolutionary-democratic forces behind the slogans: peace to the peoples, land to the peasants, equality to the oppressed nations.

The First Congress of Soviets. The June Demonstration

As the discontent of the masses with the policy of the Provisional Government mounted and the essence of the conciliatory tactics of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries became more and more apparent, Bolshevik influence in the Soviets increased. By the summer of 1917 this influence became particularly pronounced in the workers' section of the Petrograd So-

viet, in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Orekhovo-Zuyevo, Kronstadt and in the Soviets of the Donbas and the Urals. However, most of the Soviets were still dominated by the conciliators. This was clearly seen in the party affiliation of the delegates to the First All-Russia Congress of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies which opened in Petrograd on June 3, 1917.

Nearly a thousand delegates attended that Congress of whom 800 were Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, and only 105 were Bolsheviks.

A vast majority of workers and soldiers were represented at the congress, which could have taken power into its hands peacefully. However, led by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, it did not take this course. Resolutions of a defencist-conciliatory nature were adopted on all questions discussed by the congress.

The Bolsheviks made wide use of the congress rostrum to expose the imperialist policy of the Provisional Government and the conciliatory tactics of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. In their speeches the Bolshevik delegates highlighted the questions of power and peace as the main issues. Lenin, who took the floor on two occasions, explained to the delegates that Soviet power alone could give bread to the working people and land to the peasants, ensure peace and put an end to economic dislocation. When the question of power was discussed, the Menshevik Tsereteli asserted that there was no party in Russia which would be ready to take power into its hands, to which Lenin said: "I reply: 'Yes, there is... Our Party certainly doesn't (refuse this—*Ed.*). It is ready to take over full power at any moment.' "[1]

Submitting and upholding their resolutions, the Bolsheviks consistently pursued a revolutionary line. Their speeches were addressed directly to the broad masses—workers, peasants and soldiers—rather than the delegates alone. During the congress Petrograd was literally seething. What with the continuing war and economic dislocation the political atmosphere in the capital

[1] V. I. Lenin, "First All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, June 3-24 (June 16-July 7), 1917", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 20.

became extremely tense. The masses were pressing for street action. They demanded that the Soviets take power into their hands.

The Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary leaders of the congress intended to lead the Petrograd workers and soldiers into the street under defencist-conciliatory slogans. Having called off the demonstration scheduled by the Bolsheviks for June 10, they decided to hold their own demonstration on June 18, the day the offensive was scheduled to be launched at the front. The conciliators hoped to stage the demonstration under the slogan of confidence in the Provisional Government, but they grossly miscalculated.

On June 18, columns of workers and soldiers carrying red banners and posters with revolutionary slogans moved to the centre from all parts of the city. About half a million people marched in the streets, demanding a democratic peace, the transfer of all power to the Soviets, the establishment of workers' control and the dismissal of ten capitalist Ministers. Only small and scattered groups carried Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionary slogans expressing confidence in the Provisional Government.

Between June 18 and 25, mass demonstrations under Bolshevik slogans were also held in Moscow and some other cities.

Lenin emphasised the historic significance of the June 18 demonstration, calling it a demonstration of action which showed the direction of the revolution and the way out of the deadlock through the transfer of all power to the Soviets.

By launching an offensive at the front the bourgeois counter-revolutionaries calculated that if it was successful their positions would be strengthened, enabling them to crush the mounting revolution and establish the absolute rule of the bourgeoisie: if the offensive failed they would blame it on the Bolsheviks who, they contended, were demoralising the army, and use this as a pretext to destroy the Bolshevik Party.

The soldiers at the front were fed up with the war and demanded an immediate peace. Nevertheless, on June 18 the General Headquarters, supported by the conciliators, launched an offensive on the South-Western Front, which soon ended in failure. Ten days of fighting cost the armies of this front 60,000 men

in killed or wounded, and they were forced to retreat. The abortive offensive further intensified the struggle of the masses against the imperialist policy of the ruling classes and parties.

The End of Dual Power and of the Peaceful Period of the Revolution

On July 3, Petrograd was the scene of a spontaneous demonstration of soldiers and workers held under the slogan "All power to the Soviets!" The revolutionary masses of Petrograd were ready to overthrow the Provisional Government. However, the Bolshevik Party considered this action to be premature. In most of the regions the masses were not yet prepared to give an active support to the centre; they were still considerably influenced by the conciliatory parties and were in the grip of defencist moods. The Bolsheviks, therefore, did their best to lend a peaceful and organised character to the spontaneous movement. In the evening of July 3 the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party decided to hold a peaceful demonstration on July 4, demanding the transfer of power to the Soviets. A demonstration by more than 500,000 of workers, soldiers and Kronstadt sailors was staged in Petrograd under the leadership of the Bolsheviks.

The demonstrators' basic demands were: the transfer of all power to the Soviets, an end to the offensive at the front, the handing over of landed estates to the peasantry, and the establishment of workers' control over production.

Although this was intended as a peaceful demonstration, the Provisional Government and the leaders of the Menshevik-SR Central Executive Committee drowned it in blood. Nearly 400 workers and soldiers were killed or wounded.

The July 3-4 demonstration was the last attempt of the revolutionary people to decide the question of power in a peaceful way.

Immediately after the crushing of the peaceful demonstration in Petrograd the Provisional Government took repressive measures against the Bolsheviks and revolutionary soldiers and workers. The offices and printshop of *Pravda* were wrecked. A number of Bolshevik newspapers, including *Pravda* and *Soldatskaya Pravda*,

were closed down. The more revolutionary-minded regiments of the Petrograd garrison were withdrawn from the capital and sent to the front. The programme of these counter-revolutionary actions was drawn up jointly by the Provisional Government and the Entente countries at the latters' insistence.

The July events meant that the petty-bourgeois parties had openly joined the counter-revolutionary camp. On July 9 the conciliatory Central Executive Committee of the Soviets declared the Provisional Government as a "government of the salvation of the revolution", voluntarily ceding all power to it. The Soviets dominated by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, became an appendage of the Provisional Government. The dual power thus came to an end, in favour of the bourgeoisie.

Following the July events the bourgeoisie openly took the offensive against the revolution. On July 7, seeking to deprive the proletariat and the Bolshevik Party of their leader, the bourgeois government issued an order for Lenin's arrest. Charges of "high treason" were trumped up against him and other Bolshevik Party leaders. The counter-revolutionaries were blatantly seeking to do away with Lenin and consequently the leader of the revolution was forced to go underground. The bourgeois press started an unbridled anti-Bolshevik campaign. The army command dealt summarily with revolutionary-minded soldiers. Entire regiments and divisions were disbanded. Capital punishment was instituted at the front. A new coalition government, consisting of Constitutional Democrats (Cadets), Socialist-Revolutionaries (S.R.s) and Mensheviks and headed by Kerensky, was formed on July 24.

After the July events the Bolsheviks realised that it was no longer possible to take power peacefully. Now it could only be seized as a result of an armed struggle by the revolutionary masses.

Meanwhile, hidden by the Party from the bourgeois hounds, Lenin continued to give guidance to the Bolsheviks. It was at this time that he wrote his famous book *The State and Revolution,* which marked a new stage in the development of the Marxist theory of the state. Lenin theoretically substantiated the ways and means of establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Sixth Party Congress. Towards an Armed Uprising

The drastic changes which took place in the political situation after the July events called for the adoption of new tactics and new slogans by the Bolshevik Party. This was accomplished by the Sixth Party Congress held on July 26-August 3, 1917. Lenin was still in hiding (he lived in a hut on the shore of Lake Razliv not far from Petrograd) and could not attend the congress. Nevertheless the work of the congress was guided by him. In his articles "The Political Situation", "Three Crises", "On Slogans", "Constitutional Illusions", written shortly before the congress, Lenin gave a penetrating analysis of the situation in that period. He explained the need for adopting new Party tactics, formulated new tasks and slogans and outlined prospects for the development of the revolution. He also prepared the theses "On the Political Situation", which underlay the work of the Sixth Congress and its resolutions.

The reports and statements made by congress delegates showed that in spite of the brutal repressions by the Provisional Government, the Party had scored a considerable success in isolating the conciliators and winning the broad masses of the working people over to its side.

In the period between the April Conference and the Sixth Congress the Party had gained in strength, its membership increasing from 80,000 to 240,000. At the same time, the conciliatory parties had grown weaker, the internal differences becoming increasingly pronounced in their midst. A left wing had appeared in the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, which under the pressure of the dissatisfied peasantry was compelled to voice disagreement with the policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie. "Left" groups, the so-called internationalists, gained increasing influence among the Mensheviks.

The Congress heard a political report from the Party's Central Committee and a report on the political situation, which were delivered by Joseph Stalin. Yakov Sverdlov delivered the report on the organisational work of the Central Committee.

The congress confirmed Lenin's theoretical conclusion that a socialist revolution could triumph first in one single country,

In its resolutions the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party once again underscored Lenin's proposition on the alliance between the proletariat and the poorest peasants as an indispensable condition for the triumph of the socialist revolution.

The congress temporarily withdrew the slogan "All power to the Soviets!", which did not mean, of course, that the Party totally rejected the Soviets as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This only concerned the Soviets headed by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, which had become an appendage of the counter-revolutionary government. "Soviets," Lenin wrote, "may appear in this new revolution, and indeed are bound to, but *not* the present Soviets, not organs collaborating with the bourgeoisie, but organs of revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. It is true that even then we shall be in favour of building the whole state on the model of the Soviets. It is not a question of Soviets in general, but of combating the *present* counter-revolution and the treachery of the *present* Soviets."[1]

Remaining in the Soviets the Bolsheviks continued to use them as a rostrum for exposing the policy of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, spreading their own ideas and turning the Soviets from conciliatory into Bolshevik organs.

In its resolutions the congress provided an analysis of the economic situation in Russia, pointing out that "the country's economy was on the verge of collapse".[2] It discussed and approved the Party's economic platform which became a programme of struggle to save the country from national catastrophe and opened the way to social progress. This programme provided for such revolutionary measures in the field of economy as the confiscation of landed estates and nationalisation of all land in the country, the nationalisation of the banks and of large-scale industry, and the establishment of workers' control over the production and distribution, etc.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "On Slogans", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 191.

[2] *The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Its Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee* (further referred to as *The CPSU in Resolutions...*), Vol. 1, 8th edition, Moscow, 1970, p. 489 (in Russian).

The congress stressed that the Party's main task was to carry on propaganda for the overthrow of the existing power by means of an armed uprising. But this did not mean that it had to be started at once. Such a step would be premature, because the Bolsheviks did not yet have the support of the bulk of the working class, the toiling peasantry and the army.

The Sixth Party Congress was the congress of vigorous preparation for the October Revolution. The Central Committee issued a manifesto on behalf of the congress, calling upon workers, soldiers and peasants to prepare for a resolute struggle against the bourgeoisie. It said in conclusion: "So prepare for new battles, our comrades-in-arms! Staunchly, courageously and calmly, not falling pray to provocation, accumulate strength and form militant columns! The proletarians and soldiers, rally under the Party's banner! The rural oppressed, rally under our banner!"[1]

Defeat of the Kornilov Revolt. Bolshevisation of the Soviets

The bourgeoisie, not content with the "half-victory" won in July, was bent on establishing counter-revolutionary military dictatorship in the country. For this purpose it engineered a plot with the Army's Supreme Commander, General Kornilov, at the head. The Cadet ministers of the Provisional Government took an active part in the plot, in which the Minister-President Alexander Kerensky was also involved. Diplomatic and military representatives of the USA, France and Britain played a significant role in the organisation of the revolt. The Kornilov revolt was not a mere generals' adventure. It drew upon the economic and political might of the Russian and foreign imperialists.

On August 12 the so-called State Conference opened in Moscow, whose aim was to organise and mobilise counter-revolutionary forces. Represented in it were top army commanders, big businessmen and industrialists, former members of the State Duma, leaders of the Constitutional-Democrats, Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties.

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[1] *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 1, 8th edition, p. 508.

At this conference representatives of various bourgeois groups, Cossack leaders and generals demanded the liquidation of the Soviets, the abolition of the elective soldiers' committees in the army, the reinstitution of capital punishment not only at the front but in the rest of the country, the suppression of the peasant and national movement, the introduction of stricter discipline at factories and mills, and a ban on rallies and meetings in the army, etc.

The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party called upon local Party organisations to mobilise the working people against the State Conference and expose its counter-revolutionary schemes. On August 12, the opening day of the State Conference, Moscow Bolsheviks organised a general strike involving more than 400,000 workers. Meetings, strikes and demonstrations of protest against the State Conference were held in Petrograd, Kiev, Kostroma, Kharkov, Samara (now Kuibyshev) and elsewhere.

After the State Conference bourgeois counter-revolutionaries intensified preparations for the revolt. The Supreme Command General Headquarters in Mogilev was the main centre of rallying the counter-revolutionary forces. On August 21, GHQ surrendered Riga to the German forces. By doing this the bourgeoisie hoped to create a threat to Petrograd so as to justify the entry of counter-revolutionary units into the capital allegedly to protect it against a German attack. The conspirators intended to seize the revolutionary capital, crush the Bolshevik Party, disband the Soviets and establish military dictatorship.

On August 25, 1917, Kornilov set about implementing his plan. Specially picked military units were ordered by GHQ to "re-establish" order in Petrograd, Kronstadt and in the entire Petrograd military district. The cavalry corps commanded by General Krymov advanced directly on Petrograd where a counter-revolutionary revolt was being prepared.

When the revolt began, Kerensky, who had supported the Kornilovites, made a cunning manoeuvre declaring that he would fight against the mutineers. He was afraid of the revolutionary wrath of the masses.

The news of the generals' revolt stirred up the entire revolutionary Petrograd. The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party became a militant headquarters mobilising forces for the de-

feat of the Kornilov revolt. At the same time the Bolshevik Party continued to expose the Kerensky government, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, revolutionary Petrograd was turned into an impregnable fortress. In the course of three days 25,000 workers joined armed detachments. Soldiers of the Petrograd garrison and Baltic Fleet sailors also responded to the call for struggle.

Moscow, Minsk, Kazan and other cities joined in a vigorous struggle against the Kornilov revolt. Revolutionary committees were set up everywhere. Counter-revolutionaries were arrested. New Red Guard detachments were formed, revolutionary regiments put on the alert and counter-revolutionary units were disarmed.

A significant role in the struggle against the Kornilov revolt was played by revolutionary soldiers who established control over railway junctions and highways leading to Moscow, Kiev and Petrograd. Not a single Kornilov unit was let through to Petrograd. Agitators were sent to railway stations in the vicinity of Petrograd, where Kornilov's units were concentrated, to explain to the soldiers the criminal nature of Kornilov's adventure. As a result, Kornilov's troops refused to advance on Petrograd. The cavalry corps actually refused to obey the officers. The corps' commander, General Krymov, committed suicide.

Kornilov's counter-revolutionary adventure turned out a complete fiasco. He himself was dismissed from the post of the Supreme Commander and then arrested.[1]

The defeat of the Kornilov revolt was another turning point in the development of the revolution. Broad masses, particularly the toiling peasantry, went over to the side of the proletariat. This was a major success for the Bolshevik Party which worked indefatigably for an alliance between the proletariat and the toiling peasantry.

During the struggle against the Kornilov revolt and after its defeat the Soviets showed themselves to be truly militant bodies

[1] After the October Revolution Kornilov escaped from prison to become one of the organisers of counter-revolutionary armed forces in the south of the country.

for mobilising the masses and conducting vigorous revolutionary activity. A period of the Bolshevisation of the Soviets set in. The Soviets of Petrograd (August 31) and of Moscow (September 5) were the first to adopt Bolshevik resolutions, after which their leadership passed into the hands of the Bolsheviks. In the first half of September Bolshevik resolutions were adopted by the Soviets of Kazan, Kiev, Ufa, Samara and other cities. After the re-elections to the Soviets the Bolsheviks won the majority in many big cities and industrial centres of the country.

The Bolshevisation of the Soviets again put the slogan "All power to the Soviets!" on the agenda. Now this slogan had a different meaning than in the pre-July period: it signified the transfer of power to the Bolshevik Soviets and was a slogan of an armed uprising.

The Crisis Comes to a Head

A new revolutionary upsurge began against the background of an increasing economic dislocation.

In 1917 gross output of the large-scale industry dropped by 50 per cent, compared with the previous year.

Freightage of the railway transport was diminishing catastrophically. The financial system was in a dire state.

The economic dislocation in the country was not only caused by the war which consumed colossal resources, but was also a direct result of the policy of the bourgeoisie who sabotaged production. Mine owners, for example, closed down many mines and threatened workers with a lockout that would involve the whole of the Donets basin. By October, factory owners in Petrograd had closed down 40 enterprises, Moscow manufacturers curtailed production at their factories and were also preparing mass lockouts. Half of the Ural enterprises were closed down.

The capitalists were getting rich on the war, while the working people were doomed to starvation. At the end of August daily bread rations in Petrograd and Moscow were reduced to half a pound (200 g), but even these meagre rations were not issued regularly to the working people.

In his work "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It", written in September 1917, Lenin explained the economic platform of the Bolshevik Party and showed convincingly that only a socialist revolution could save the country from a national catastrophe. He believed that the priority measures should include the introduction of workers' control over production and distribution, amalgamation of all banks into a single bank and the establishment of control over its operation with the subsequent nationalisation of all banks, nationalisation of the biggest syndicates in the country, abolition of commercial secrecy, compulsory syndication (association) of the industrialists and merchants, a correct distribution of work force in production, and organisation of the population into cooperatives.

These measures did not yet mean an immediate and complete abolition of capitalism, but their implementation would substantially undermine its foundations and mark an important step on the road to a new social system—socialism.

Lenin wrote: "It is *impossible* in twentieth-century Russia, which has won a republic and democracy in a revolutionary way, to go forward without *advancing* towards socialism, without taking *steps* towards it. . ."[1] Lenin showed the law-governed nature of the struggle of the revolutionary people of Russia for the overthrow of the power of the capitalists and gave a clear perspective of the country's forward movement. He pointed out that to lighten the burden of the war, to alleviate its calamities and heal its wounds, revolutionary measures were needed, and that only Soviet power was capable of implementing them.

Lenin made it clear that only an uncompromising break with the capitalists in the sphere of home and foreign policy could save the revolution and the country from the impending catastrophe.

Fearing the mounting socialist revolution the bourgeoisie strove to consolidate their political domination. They resorted to manoeuvres intended to deceive the people. On September 1, Russia was proclaimed a republic, and a Directory consisting of five ministers headed by Kerensky was formed to govern it. On Septem-

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 362.

ber 14 a Democratic Conference was convened in Petrograd, attended by representatives of the conciliatory parties, bourgeois-nationalist organisations, town dumas, zemstvos[1], trade unions, Soviets, etc.

In the course of the Democratic Conference a Pre-parliament (an Interim Council of the Republic) was formed. The Bolsheviks boycotted this organ which lacked authority and had no right to govern. On September 25 Kerensky formed a new (third) coalition government with the participation of the Constitutional-Democrats, but this move was of no avail since it did nothing to alleviate the crisis of bourgeois power.

In an effort to save their skins members of the Provisional Government went as far as national treason and a secret deal with foreign imperialists; they planned to surrender Petrograd to the German forces.

But the revolutionary soldiers and sailors courageously defended the capital. Acting jointly with the Petrograd proletariat, they prevented the Provisional Government from surrendering the city to the Germans.

The camp of the revolution grew and gained in strength daily. In September-October the proletariat and its party was the most formidable and united force in the country. The Bolsheviks' influence grew steadily among the masses.

The intensified revolutionary activity of the proletariat was expressed in a powerful upsurge of the strike movement. At that time strikes formed part of the proletariat's struggle for power.

The workers of Petrograd and Moscow were in the van of the struggle against the bourgeoisie. They were followed by the proletariat of the whole country.

Not infrequently, in the course of strikes, workers, assisted by the Red Guard, removed the management, arrested its representatives and took the direction of enterprises into their own hands. This was the case in Petrograd, Moscow, the Ukraine, the Urals, etc. Thus, the working-class movement made a direct approach to solving the problem of power.

The mounting economic crisis, the intensified exploitation of the impoverished village by the capitalist town, the refusal of the

[1] Elective district councils.—*Ed.*

government to solve the land problem, the obvious shifting of the petty-bourgeois parties to the side of the counter-revolutionary forces and the intensification of the revolutionary struggle of the working class—all stimulated the peasants to step up their revolutionary struggle for the seizure of landed estates. Peasants in the Tambov, Penza and other provinces started driving the landowners from their estates, seizing their land and burning down their mansions on a mass scale. A peasant uprising was mounting in the country.

The bourgeois government was unable to prevent these peasants' risings. The soldiers sent to villages with punitive expeditions refused to carry orders to pacify the peasants. Sometimes, moreover, they even led the peasants' risings themselves.

Fraternisation with the enemy soldiers became more frequent. Very often soldiers removed Kornilovite officers and placed new commanders in their stead. Bolshevik organisations in the army took firmer root and gained in strength. They headed the soldiers' struggle for re-election of soldiers' committees. In place of the Mensheviks and Socalist-Revolutionaries, in whom they had lost confidence, the soldiers elected Bolsheviks to the committees. Although the corps, army and front committees were still headed by conciliators, the company, regimental and, often, divisional committees were now led by the Bolsheviks.

In the course of the acute struggle against the nationalists the Bolsheviks gained increasing influence among the working class and the poor peasantry in the Ukraine. They occupied leading positions in the Soviets, trade unions and factory committees in big cities and main industrial regions of the Ukraine. The working masses of Byelorussia vigorously supported Bolshevik slogans.

The revolutionary movement of the working people gained momentum in the Transcaucasia as well, but there it was stubbornly resisted by the bourgeois-nationalist forces. In September 1917, the Georgian Mensheviks, in alliance with other counter-revolutionary parties, set up a National Council which sought to isolate the working people of Georgia from the general Russian revolutionary movement. In October a similar National Council was formed in Armenia. It was dominated by the Dashnaktsutyun bourgeois-nationalist party.

Led by the Bolsheviks, the Baku proletariat strengthened its

tics with the Russian proletariat. However, in that period the working class of Azerbaijan was unable to isolate the bourgeois nationalists from the peasant masses. The Azerbaijan bourgeois nationalists, united in the Mussavat bourgeois-landowners' party went out of their way to strengthen their influence among the broad masses of the peasantry.

Using a slogan calling for the creation of a united "general Muslim" front, the bourgeois nationalists of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Tataria and Bashkiria also strove to isolate the local peasants from revolutionary influence. However, the nationalists could not prevent the intensification of the class struggle among the working people of the East.

Mass revolutionary action undertaken in September by Tashkent workers and soldiers under the slogan "All power to the Soviets!", went a long way towards aggravating and deepening the revolutionary crisis in Central Asia. The working masses of Tashkent displayed exemplary steadfastness which could not be broken by the punitive expedition organised by Kerensky.

Thus, serious difficulties notwithstanding, the revolutionary crisis was mounting in the national regions as well.

The political army of the socialist revolution was on hand; the economic and political crisis reached its peak. The governing "top" could no longer rule in the old way. The "bottom"—the working masses—refused to live in the old way; moreover, they were determined to smash the old capitalist society. Insurrection in Russia was also placed on the agenda as an urgent, impending, task of the moment by the course of international developments as well.

The autumn of 1917 witnessed the intensification of the revolutionary movement in Western Europe. The ruling circles of the Entente countries were alarmed by the revolutionary upsurge in the West and the development of the revolution in Russia, which prompted them to end the war at the expense of Russia. For their part, the Russian bourgeoisie were prepared to suppress the revolution by German bayonets even at the cost of territorial losses.

The internal and international situation thus imperatively called for a revolutionary uprising to put an end to imperialist domination. There was every evidence that the decisive moment

had come in the struggle for the triumph of the socialist revolution.

In September 1917 Lenin pointed to the nationwide crisis experienced by Russia, which is an indispensable condition for any social revolution. "The crisis has matured"—by this brief formula expressing deep-going socio-economic and political processes, Lenin characterised the essence of the historical moment experienced by Russia at that time.

2. THE OCTOBER ARMED UPRISING. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVIET POWER

The Historic Decisions of the Central Committee on the Armed Uprising

In mid-September 1917 Lenin wrote his famous letters addressed to the Central, Petrograd and Moscow Party committees: "The Bolsheviks Must Assume Power", "Marxism and Insurrection".[1] Taking into account all factors determining the development of the revolution, Lenin arrived at the conclusion that the time had come when the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies headed by the Bolsheviks could and must take state power into their hands through an armed uprising.

In his letters Lenin suggested that the Party should start organising revolutionary forces for the uprising. In "Marxism and Insurrection" he outlined a concrete plan for the uprising: to organise an insurrection headquarters, mobilise the Red Guard, the revolutionary garrison of the capital and Baltic sailors, prepare for the occupation of key points in the city (the telegraph, the telephone exchange, the railway stations, etc.) and government offices, and on the scheduled day and hour to arrest the members of the bourgeois Provisional Government and the General Staff.

Lenin called for a Marxist approach to insurrection, stressing that as well as war, insurrection is an art. Therefore, those who prepare for it must not fail to take into account the correlation

[1] Lenin was forced to remain in hiding and was in Finland at that time.

of class forces and rely on a scientific analysis of both objective and subjective factors of the revolution. "To be successful," Lenin wrote, "insurrection must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon a *revolutionary upsurge of the people*. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon that *turning-point* in the history of the growing revolution when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height, and when the *vacillations* in the ranks of the enemy and *in the ranks of the weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution* are strongest. That is the third point."[1]

All these conditions existed in Russia at the time. Realizing this, Lenin put the question of an armed uprising on the agenda as an immediate practical task of the Party.

In his plan for an armed uprising Lenin paid special attention to the organisation of victory at the decisive moment and at the decisive point. In October 1917, the Bolsheviks succeeded in decisively tipping the balance of forces in their favour in Petrograd, Moscow, on the Northern and Western fronts and in the main industrial centres.

On September 15, Lenin's letters were discussed by the Central Committee. During this discussion Kamenev came out against Lenin's proposals concerning the armed uprising. Opponents of the insurrection attempted to drag the Party along conciliatory lines. They suggested, among other things, that the Bolsheviks should take part in the Pre-parliament. After a contentious debate Lenin's idea of preparing for and effecting an armed uprising won the day. On October 5, the Central Committee decided to boycott the Pre-parliament. The Party concentrated its efforts on the work with the masses and on the preparation for an armed uprising.

The political atmosphere in the country grew increasingly tense. The mass movement under the slogan "All power to the Soviets!" continually gained in scope. This demand was put forward by workers at factories and mills, by the toiling masses in the countryside, by soldiers and sailors at the front.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Marxism and Insurrection", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, 1972, pp. 22-23.

In this situation counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and landowners made feverish efforts to retain power. The Provisional Government and the General Headquarters, supported by imperialist governments of the West, planned another "Kornilov revolt". Military units, on whose loyalty the conspirators counted, were moved to the key centres of the country—Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, Minsk, etc. "Strike battalions" and other units were being hastily formed to fight the revolution. At the same time, the army command disbanded pro-Bolshevik units or sent them to the front.

These preparations of the bourgeoisie and the Government's intention to surrender Petrograd to the German forces created a serious threat to the revolution. Resolute action was needed to secure its victory.

On October 1, Lenin wrote a letter to the Central Committee, the Petrograd and Moscow Party committees and the Bolshevik members of the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets: "Dear Comrades, events are prescribing our task so clearly for us that procrastination is becoming positively *criminal*."[1]

A few days later, Lenin who had secretely returned to Petrograd from Finland, wrote an article in which he set forth the fundamental propositions of the Marxist theory on the armed insurrection:

"1) *Never play* with insurrection, but when beginning it realise firmly that you must *go all the way*.

2) Concentrate a *great superiority of forces* at the decisive point and at the decisive moment, otherwise the enemy, who has the advantage of better preparation and organisation, will destroy the insurgents.

3) Once the insurrection has begun, you must act with the greatest *determination*, and by all means, without fail, take the *offensive*. 'The defensive is the death of every armed rising.'

4) You must try to take the enemy by surprise and seize the moment when his forces are scattered.

5) You must strive for *daily* successes, however small (one

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Letter to the Central Committee, the Moscow and Petrograd Committees and the Bolshevik Members of the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 140.

might say hourly, if it is the case of one town), and at all costs retain *'moral superiority'*."[1]

On October 10, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party held its historic meeting. This was the first time Lenin appeared at a meeting after the July events. He made a report on the current situation, in which he repeated his argument in favour of an early uprising. Lenin said that the political conditions for a successful armed uprising had become ripe and urged to pay special attention to the military-technical aspect of the matter, to the choice of the moment at which to strike the decisive blow at the enemy.

The analysis of the situation and the tasks of the Party connected with preparation for an armed uprising were laid down in Lenin's resolution adopted by the Central Committee. It characterised, in concrete terms, Russia's internal and international situation and said that conditions for a victorious socialist revolution had become ripe. "Considering therefore that an armed uprising is inevitable, and that the time for it is fully ripe, the Central Committee instructs all Party organisations to be guided accordingly, and to discuss and decide all practical questions... from this point of view."[2]

The Party's line for an armed uprising was opposed by Kamenev and Zinoviev. Contrary to real facts, they reiterated their allegations about the weakness of the revolutionary forces and insisted on awaiting a congress of Soviets or the Constituent Assembly. Underestimation of the forces of the working class and its allies which were capable of accomplishing a socialist revolution, and overestimation of the forces of the enemy were the leitmotif of their speeches. The capitulators' viewpoint was rejected. A resolution passed by the Central Committee on October 10 became the directive determining the entire Party activity on the eve of the October armed uprising. This meeting formed a Political Bureau composed of members of the Central Committee and headed by Lenin.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Advice of an Onlooker", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 180.

[2] V. I. Lenin, "Meeting of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. (B.), October 10 (23), 1917", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 190.

On October 12, a Revolutionary Military Committee was set up at the Petrograd Soviet. The establishment of this militant legal organ of the revolution was an important step in preparations for the insurrection. It included: from the Party's Central Committee—A. S. Bubnov, F. E. Dzerzhinsky, J. V. Stalin, Y. M. Sverdlov, M. S. Uritsky; from the Military Organisation of the Central Committee of the RSDLP(B), the Petrograd Party Committee, the Soviet and some other organisations—V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, P. E. Dybenko, S. I. Gusev, N. V. Krylenko, M. J. Latsis, P. Y. Lazimir (Left S. R.), K. A. Mekhonoshin, V. I. Nevsky, N. I. Podvoisky, A. D. Sadovsky, K. S. Yeremeyev and others.

Following Petrograd's example Revolutionary Military Committees were set up in other cities and at the front. In their work they relied on revolutionary Soviets and soldiers' committees, trade unions and factory committees. Their main functions were the mobilisation and organisation of revolutionary forces for an armed uprising and the military preparation for its victory. Among their primary tasks was also the formation, arming and training of Red Guard detachments—the strike force of the revolution.

There was a rapid growth of militant revolutionary forces everywhere—in Petrograd and Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Nizhny Novgorod, the Donbas and the Urals, the Volga region and Siberia. In October there were up to 200,000 Red Guards in 62 cities of the country; they constituted the armed vanguard of the Russian proletariat.

The Central Committee's decision in favour of an armed uprising gave rise to intense activity among the local Party organisations. Congresses of local Soviets were held throughout the country in preparation for the forthcoming Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets. In the course of their work it became clear that the Bolsheviks had scored a decisive success in the struggle for the masses. One example of this was the congress of Soviets of the Northern region, which opened in Petrograd on October 11. Among its delegates there were 51 Bolsheviks, 24 Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and 10 Right Socialist-Revolutionaries. The party affiliation of the congress delegates reflected a drastic change that had taken place in the balance of forces in favour of Bolshe-

viks. In his letter to the congress Lenin said that in the new situation the slogan "All power to the Soviets!" was the slogan of an insurrection. In its resolutions the congress emphasised that the time of making speeches had passed and now the time had come for resolute action. Most of the mandates given by local Soviets to delegates to the All-Russia Congress contained a demand for the transfer of all power to the Soviets.

On the eve of the decisive events, on October 16, the Central Committee held an enlarged sitting. In addition to CC members, it was attended by representatives of the Military Organisation, the Petrograd Party Committee, trade unions and factory committees. Lenin made a report. Having read out the CC resolution of October 10, he declared: "From a political analysis of the class struggle in Russia and in Europe there emerged the necessity to pursue the most determined and most active policy, which could be only the armed uprising."[1]

Yakov Sverdlov informed those present of preparations for the uprising in the localities. He pointed to the tremendous numerical growth of the Bolshevik Party and its increased political influence not only in the towns, but also in the countryside and in the army and Navy. N. V. Krylenko, a member of the Revolutionary Military Committee, said in his speech: "The mood of the regiments is totally in our favour." A representative of trade unions declared that the working masses demanded the transfer of all power to the Soviets. All this confirmed Lenin's conclusion about the masses being ready for the decisive battle against the bourgeoisie.

At this CC sitting too, Kamenev and Zinoviev came out against an uprising; they claimed that the conditions for it had not matured and therefore the insurrection was doomed to failure. The Central Committee rejected their capitulatory stand.

Defeated in the Central Committee, Kamenev and Zinoviev resorted to open betrayal. On October 18, the pro-Menshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* published their statement in which they expressed their disagreement with the Central Committee's decision on an armed uprising, thus devulging to the en-

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Meeting of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.), October 16 (29), 1917", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 192.

emy the secret preparations of the proletarian Party for the uprising.

Lenin branded Zinoviev and Kamenev as strike-breakers and traitors of the revolution and insisted on their immediate expulsion from the Party. On October 20, the Central Committee condemned their action, demanded that they should stop their disorganising activity, forbidding them to make any statements that would run counter to the Central Committee line.

Trotsky, while not objecting in the Central Committee against an armed uprising, demanded its postponement until October 25, the day the Second Congress of Soviets was to have been opened, which, in fact, forewarned the enemy about the planned attack of the revolutionary forces and jeopardised the success of the insurrection.

In the meantime the counter-revolutionaries took measures to forestall the uprising and to strike first. The Provisional Government ordered the headquarters of the Petrograd military district to capture Smolny Institute, the seat of the Party's Central Committee, the Petrograd Party Committee, the Petrograd Soviet and the Revolutionary Military Committee.

The Provisional Government held secret meetings which decided on concrete measures to combat the revolution. Officer cadets from the military schools nearest to the capital were brought to the city, guards were strengthened; Cossacks were instructed to be ready for action. Officer cadets and armoured cars were moved near the Winter Palace to strengthen its security. Cannon and machine-guns were set up on the Palace Square. Reinforced details were assigned to guard bridges over the Neva and all government offices. The General Headquarters was ordered to expedite the movement of forces from the front to Petrograd. Military units patrolled the city.

But the Provisional Government could not change the balance of forces formed in the course of the struggle. This balance was obviously in favour of the revolution.

Under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee, the Revolutionary Military Committee was completing preparations for the decisive battle against counter-revolution. The Red Guard was in full combat readiness. The Revolutionary Military Committee sent its commissars to units of the Petrograd garrison and

some other institutions. On October 22, a meeting of representatives of all regiments of the Petrograd garrison declared that garrison orders and directives issued without the authorisation of commissars of the Revolutionary Military Committee would henceforth be considered invalid. As for the Baltic Fleet sailors, they declared as early as September through the Centrobalt, their elective body, that the fleet "no longer obeyed the Provisional Government's orders and refused to recognise its authority".

On the initiative of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party October 22 was declared the "Day of the Petrograd Soviet". Rallies and meetings were held at factories and mills, in soldiers' barracks and at institutions demanding the transfer of all power to the Soviets. Late at night on October 23 the Revolutionary Military Committee reviewed its forces, checked military posts and specified tasks for individual units and detachments. Revolutionary forces were brought to the state of full battle readiness and waited for a signal to begin the storming of the old, moribund system.

The Victory of the Uprising in Petrograd

On October 24, the Provisional Government made the last attempt to seize the initiative and take the offensive. In the morning of October 24, a detachment of officer cadets raided the printshop where the newspaper *Rabochy Put*,[1] the central organ of the Bolshevik Party, was printed. They captured the printshop and held it for some time, confiscating the issue. At the same time the Government ordered the seizure of Smolny Institute and the raising of bridges over the Neva. Troops were brought to the Winter Palace to strengthen its security.

The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party took urgent measures to rebuff counter-revolution. The Revolutionary Military Committee was instructed to send Red Guards and revolutionary soldiers to the printshop, to drive the officer cadets away, and to ensure the protection of the printshop and of the edito-

[1] The newspaper *Pravda* appeared under this title since the beginning of September.

rial offices. This instruction was carried out without delay. The *Rabochy Put* appeared with a call to overthrow the Provisional Government.

The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party held a meeting at Smolny, giving concrete assignments to all its members. Sverdlov was to follow the actions of the Provisional Government and organise a reserve headquarters of the revolution. Dzerzhinsky was to head the capture of the post and telegraph offices, Bubnov's task was to establish contact with railway workers, Milyutin's—to organise food supply, etc.

The Revolutionary Military Committee immediately sent instructions to its commissars and regimental committees. Pointing out that the counter-revolutionaries intended to take the offensive, the Revolutionary Military Committee ordered the regiments to be in full battle readiness and to await further instructions, stressing that "any procrastination and confusion will be considered as betrayal of the revolution".

All revolutionary forces of the capital—Red Guard detachments, revolutionary regiments of the Petrograd garrison, and Baltic Fleet sailors—rose to storm bourgeois power.

The Revolutionary Military Committee transmitted, via the cruiser *Aurora's* radio station, a call to all revolutionary organisations outside Petrograd to bring their forces to the state of full combat readiness and under no circumstances let the echelons, carrying the troops summoned by the Provisional Government, enter the capital. The Government failed to receive support from the front and from the units in the capital it had counted upon. The bicyclists, who guarded the Winter Palace, deserted their posts, declaring that they were not going to protect the Government any longer. Three Cossack regiments, in which Kerensky had complete faith, refused to leave their barracks.

On October 24, the Red Guards, revolutionary soldiers and sailors captured bridges across the Neva, thereby establishing a more reliable communication between the centre of the city and working-class districts. By the evening the Central Telegraph and then the Petrograd Telegraph Agency had been taken. In the evening of October 24, Lenin wrote Central Committee members his last letter from hiding, which said: "We must at all costs, this very evening, this very night, arrest the government, having

first disarmed the officer cadets (defeating them, if they resist), and so on."[1] Following Lenin's instruction, the Central Committee of the Party did its best to bring about the uprising with all possible haste.

In the evening Lenin arrived at Smolny Institute and assumed the direction of the uprising. During the night the revolutionary forces seized the railway stations, the electric power station, the State Bank and other key points and establishments. With the capture of the telephone exchange all the telephones of the Government and the military headquarters were switched off.

Thousands of new fighters kept joining the ranks of the revolutionary forces. New Red Guard detachments were formed at Petrograd factories and mills. Warships and a combined detachment of Baltic Fleet sailors arrived on October 25.

The Petrograd workers led the uprising. Revolutionary units of the Petrograd garrison and sailors of the Baltic Fleet fought side by side with Red Guardsmen.

The uprising rapidly gained momentum. By the morning of October 25, the capital was already in the hands of the insurgent proletariat and soldiers. Only the Winter Palace, the General Headquarters, the Mariinsky Palace and some other points were still controlled by the Provisional Government.

On the morning of October 25, convinced of the hopelessness of the situation, Kerensky fled from the capital in a car flying US flag.

At 10 a.m. on October 25, the Revolutionary Military Committee published the historic appeal "To the Citizens of Russia!", written by Lenin.

"The Provisional Government has been deposed," said the appeal. "State power has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies—the Revolutionary Military Committee, which heads the Petrograd proletariat and the garrison.

"The cause for which the people have fought, namely, the immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of landed

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Letter to Central Committee Members", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 234.

proprietorship, workers' control over production, and the establishment of Soviet power—this cause has been secured."[1]

In the afternoon of October 25, the Petrograd Soviet opened its extraordinary meeting, which was addressed by Lenin. "Comrades," Lenin said, "the workers' and peasants' revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken, has been accomplished...

"From now on, a new phase in the history of Russia begins, and this, the third Russian revolution, should in the end lead to the victory of socialism."[2]

To culminate the victory it was necessary to make haste and take the Winter Palace where the ministers of the Provisional Government stayed under the protection of officer cadets.

At 12 o'clock on October 25, the revolutionary detachments occupied the Mariinsky Palace, where the Pre-parliament held its sittings, and then the General Headquarters. Towards the evening the Winter Palace was encircled.

To avoid bloodshed the Revolutionary Military Committee presented an ultimatum to the Provisional Government—to capitulate within 20 minutes. Since no answer ensued, the Revolutionary Military Committee ordered the storming of the Winter Palace. The cruiser *Aurora* fired one of its guns (a blank shot), which was the signal for the attack. Then the guns of the Peter and Paul Fortress fired a volley. The army of the revolution began the storming of the Winter Palace. Towards the night the resistance of the Winter Palace garrison began to slacken off. The first few detachments of the Red Guards, soldiers and sailors penetrated into the palace.

Late at night the Winter Palace was taken: members of the Provisional Government were arrested and sent to the Peter and Paul Fortress.

With the arrest of the Provisional Government the armed uprising in Petrograd was brought to its victorious conclusion. This

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "To the Citizens of Russia!", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 236.

[2] V. I. Lenin, "Meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, October 25 (November 7), 1917", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 239.

impetuous storming of bourgeois power, organised and led by the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin, is a classical example of a victorious armed uprising.

The Second Congress of Soviets and its Decrees

The Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies opened at Smolny Institute, in the evening of October 25, 1917. It was attended by representatives of Soviets from all parts of the country and by delegates of some Peasants' Soviets which at that time functioned separately from Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

Of the 649 delegates, registered at the opening of the Congress, 390 were Bolsheviks, 160—Socialist-Revolutionaries, 72—Mensheviks, the rest representing small factions and non-party people.

The presidium elected by the Congress almost entirely consisted of Bolsheviks and included only a few members of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries' faction. The Mensheviks and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries refused to send their representatives to the presidium, hoping in this way to disorganise the work of the Congress.

Seeing that their cause was lost, leaders of the right wing of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks ventured on an open break with the Soviets. At the Congress they came out in defence of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government, referring to the October Revolution as a "military coup". After making several provocative statements, a group of the Mensheviks, Bundists and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries (51 people in all) walked out of the Congress and went to the city Duma, where, together with Cadets, they set up a counter-revolutionary centre under a demagogic signboard "The Committee for the Salvation of the Homeland and the Revolution".

When they had left, the Congress continued its work. After three o'clock in the morning news arrived about the seizure of the Winter Palace and the arrest of the Provisional Government.

Anatoly Lunacharsky then read out Lenin's appeal "To Workers, Soldiers and Peasants!". The appeal described the overthrow

of the Provisional Government and the transfer of power to the Soviets. "Backed by the will of the vast majority of the workers, soldiers and peasants," this historic document read, "backed by the victorious uprising of the workers and the garrison which has taken place in Petrograd, the Congress takes power into its own hands.

"The Provisional Government has been overthrown."[1]

The Congress decreed that all power in the centre and in the localities passed over to the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies which were to ensure a genuine revolutionary order in the country.

At this the first session of the Congress of Soviets ended.

The second session opened at nine p.m. on October 26. It adopted a number of important decisions, including the abolition of capital punishment at the front, reinstituted by the Kerensky government after the July events. The Congress passed a decree for the immediate release from prison of all soldiers and officers arrested for their revolutionary activity. It also adopted an appeal to all provincial and district Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, an appeal to the front-line troops and an address to the Cossacks. These memorable documents heralded the triumph of the revolution. They urged the working people to work vigorously to establish Soviet power at the front and in the rest of the country.

Lenin's reports on peace and land were at the focus of the Congress attention.

His first report was devoted to the question of peace. Withdrawal from the war was the most topical issue affecting the life of hundreds of millions of people.

The demand for a democratic peace reflected the most vital interests of the people. Therefore, the Bolsheviks proclaimed the policy of complete break with the imperialist war, the policy of peace among nations. Having taken power into their hands, they made peace policy the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet state.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, October 25-26 (November 7-8), 1917", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 247.

Lenin's report on peace was a concrete embodiment of this policy. With great enthusiasm the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets adopted the Decree on Peace suggested by Lenin. The Decree stated that the Soviet Government "calls upon all the belligerent peoples and their governments to start immediate negotiations for a just, democratic peace".[1] It contained the definition of a just and democratic peace as a peace without annexations, i.e., without seizures of foreign territories and forcible enslavement of other peoples, and without indemnities, i.e., without contributions imposed on the defeated country by the victor state. The Decree qualified as the gravest crime the continuation of the war between strong and rich nations over the division of "the weaker nations seized by them". Soviet Russia solemnly declared her determination to sign forthwith a peace that would "stop this war on the terms indicated, which are equally just for all nationalities without exception".[2] The Decree abolished secret diplomacy. The Soviet Government declared that it would immediately make known the secret treaties signed by the tsarist and Provisional governments. The terms of these treaties were declared null and void. This meant a complete and irrevocable rupture with the imperialist policies pursued by the tsarist and Provisional governments.

In order to end as soon as possible the sufferings of the war-weary peoples and to facilitate peace negotiations the Soviet Government suggested that all the belligerent countries should immediately sign an armistice. Advancing a proposal on the conclusion of a just and democratic peace, the Soviet Government stated that it did not consider its terms as an ultimatum and was ready to discuss the terms that the governments of other countries might suggest.

The programme of the struggle for peace formulated by Lenin in the Decree on Peace which was unanimously adopted by the Congress acquired the force of law. The Decree on Peace was the beginning of the Soviet Government's steadfast struggle for peace and national security. Lenin's Decree on Peace propounded the idea of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing

[1] Ibid., p. 249.
[2] Ibid., p. 250.

socio-economic systems, which has become one of the cornerstones of Soviet foreign policy.

Lenin's second report was devoted to land. The agrarian issue affected the vital interests of millions of toiling peasants. The very destiny of the alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry, and, consequently, the destiny of the socialist revolution, depended on the correct and timely settlement of this issue.

Under the Decree on Land adopted by the Second Congress of Soviets, landed proprietorship was abolished without compensation. Landed estates and the land belonging to the royal family, monasteries and the Church with all the live-stock and dead stock and premises were transferred to the provincial land committees and district Soviets of Peasants' Deputies. The Decree made a reservation that the land belonging to ordinary peasants and Cossacks was not to be confiscated.

The Decree on Land included as its integral part the peasants' mandate on land which had been compiled prior to the October Revolution on the basis of 242 local peasant mandates. To meet the peasants' wish expressed in this mandate, the Decree established an egalitarian land-tenure based on labour or consumer quota, with a periodical re-distribution of land. The principle of egalitarian land-tenure was not part of the Bolsheviks' programme, but since the peasant masses wanted an egalitarian distribution of land, the Bolsheviks considered it necessary to accept it and put it into effect.

Private ownership of land was abolished for ever and superseded by state ownership, ownership by the whole people. To all practical intents and purposes, this meant that the adoption of the Decree signified the realisation of the Bolsheviks' programmatic demand on the nationalisation of land in the country.

As a result of the implementation of the Decree on Land the peasants received more than 150 million hectares of land belonging to the royal family, landowners, monasteries, etc., free of charge.

The peasants no longer had to pay the annual rent to the landowners and bourgeoisie or buy new land, which would otherwise cost them a total of 700 million gold roubles. Their indebtedness to the Peasant Land Bank, amounting to nearly 3,000 million

roubles, was cancelled. In addition, the peasants received the live-stock and implements formerly belonging to landowners to the tune of some 350 million roubles. The toiling peasantry enthusiastically welcomed the Decree on Land. Their age-old dream of land came true.

The Congress elected the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. To govern the country, the Second Congress of Soviets elected the workers' and peasants' government—the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Republic. The leader and inspirer of the Great October Socialist Revlution V. I. Lenin was elected Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, i.e., head of the first Soviet Government of workers and peasants.

The election of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets and the setting up of the Council of People's Commissars constituted a major step in the creation of a new type of state, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. A truly people's power had been established.

It was past five o'clock in the morning of October 27 when the Congress completed its work to the shouts of "Long live socialism!" and to the singing of the *Internationale*.

The delegates left for home to all parts of the country bringing the joyous news about the transfer of all power to the Soviets, and about the historic decrees adopted by the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets.

3. THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT GAINS GROUND

The Triumphal March of Soviet Power

The exploiter classes overthrown as a result of the October armed uprising offered a desperate resistance to the workers' and peasants' revolution.

Kerensky fled from Petrograd to the headquarters of the Northern Front in Pskov, mustered counter-revolutionary units there and, aided by General Krasnov, commander of the cavalry corps, moved them to Petrograd. On October 27 and 28, they occupied Gatchina and Tsarskoye Selo, creating a direct threat to Petrograd. On October 29, the counter-revolutionary Committee for

the Salvation of the Homeland and the Revolution stirred up a mutiny in Petrograd itself. But the mutineers—a mere thousand of military-school cadets and officers, who were not supported by the population and the soldiers of the garrison, were smashed by Soviet power on the same day.

The Soviet Government mobilised revolutionary forces who took the offensive against the mutineers headed by Krasnov and Kerensky.

On October 30, the Cossack detachments led by Krasnov were crushed. A Soviet delegation arrived in Gatchina on November 1 and arranged with the Cossacks about the arrest of Kerensky and Krasnov. The former fled, as he himself admitted, disguised in a "ridiculous costume". Krasnov was arrested but then released as he gave his "word of honour" that he would not fight against Soviet power any more.[1]

At the critical point of the struggle against the mutiny (on October 29) the All-Russia Executive Committee of Railwaymen (Vikzhel), headed by Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, came up with a demand that a government should be formed with the participation of Right Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks.

The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party considered it possible to expand the Government and the All-Russia Central Executive Committee by including representatives of the railwaymen's and post-and-telegraph workers' unions, but not to form a bloc with the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks who openly opposed Soviet power. That would be tantamount to the liquidation of this power.

However, some members of the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee and of the Soviet Government (Kamenev, Rykov, Zinoviev and others) supported the Vikzhel proposal. A stiff struggle flared up in the Central Committee and the Government, as a result of which Lenin's principled and firm stand got the upper hand.

Having suffered this defeat, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov and their supporters walked out of the Central Committee and the

[1] Krasnov broke his word; he became one of the organisers of the struggle against Soviet power on the Don.

Council of People's Commissars. This played into the hands of the counter-revolutionaries who resumed their struggle against Soviet power. They hoped to split the Bolshevik Party, but their hopes failed. The Party gave a worthy rebuff to the capitulationists and retained its unity.

Yakov Sverdlov, one of the outstanding organisers of the Soviet socialist state, was elected Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee in place of Kamenev. Grigory Petrovsky replaced Rykov on the post of the People's Commissar for Internal Affairs. Some other People's Commissars were also replaced.

The establishment of Soviet power in Moscow was of primary importance for the socialist revolution. Counter-revolutionaries concentrated large forces in Moscow, hoping to turn it into the main base of the struggle against the revolution.

In the morning of October 25 Moscow learned about the armed uprising in Petrograd. At that very time the Moscow Party Committee held a meeting. It immediately set up a militant Party centre, which included M. F. Vladimirsky, V. N. Podbelsky, O. A. Pyatnitsky and others. The Moscow Party Committee issued an appeal to workers, soldiers, peasants, railwaymen, post and telegraph employees, calling upon them to establish Soviet power. The struggle for the transfer of power to the Soviets had begun.

Red Guard detachments, assisted by revolutionary soldiers, occupied the post and telegraph. Yet, the Moscow Committee committed some mistakes in organising the struggle against counter-revolution. One of them was the belated setting up of the Revolutionary Military Committee. It was formed only at the joint meeting of Moscow district Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies held in the evening of October 25, i.e., after an open struggle for power had started in the city. In addition to Bolsheviks, the Revolutionary Military Committee included Mensheviks, who hampered and undermined its activity. At the same time the latter had their representatives in the counter-revolutionary centre—the Committee for Public Security, set up that same evening by a meeting of the city Duma to combat the revolution.

In the meantime, acting on the instructions of the Committee

for Public Security, Colonel Ryabtsev, Socialist-Revolutionary commander of the Moscow military district, mobilised counter-revolutionary forces in the city. He had some 10,000 well-armed men under his command.

The masses wanted action and nothing and nobody could check the triumphant development of the revolution. On the night of October 25, the Revolutionary Military Committee circulated an order demanding that all revolutionary forces be immediately brought to the state of combat readiness. Revolutionary Military Committees were set up in many Moscow districts; they had the support of the Red Guard and revolutionary regiments of the garrison and soon became the real masters of the situation there. By the morning of October 26, bourgeois newspapers had been closed down, and a number of key establishments, including the State Bank, had been occupied.

The enemies of the revolution in Moscow launched vigorous counter-actions. In the evening of October 27, Ryabtsev proclaimed martial law in the city and categorically demanded the abolition of the Revolutionary Military Committee and the return of arms taken from the armoury. In the morning of October 28, officer cadets seized the Kremlin and massacred revolutionary soldiers.

On the instruction of the Party centre, the Revolutionary Military Committee rejected Ryabtsev's ultimatum. A general strike was declared in Moscow on October 28. Workers went straight from their factories to Red Guard headquarters, demanding weapons. Some 40,000 rifles were taken from wagons stationed on the side-track of the Kazan railway line. They were immediately handed over to Red Guards. By that time the Mensheviks had withdrawn from the Revolutionary Military Committee. The revolutionary forces took a resolute offensive.

Fierce clashes took place in various districts of the city, the Red Guards and revolutionary soldiers displaying great courage. Red Guard detachments from Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Shuya, led by Mikhail Frunze, workers' detachments from Tula, Vladimir, Serpukhov and other towns arrived in Moscow to aid the revolutionary forces. Detachments of Petrograd Red Guards and Baltic Fleet sailors were sent to Moscow on Lenin's initiative.

On November 1 and 2, Moscow was the scene of decisive bat-

tles for Soviet power. On November 2, revolutionary detachments moved to Red Square and completely encircled the Kremlin.

On the same day the terms of capitulation were signed, providing for the disbandment of the Committee for Public Security and the disarmament of White Guards and officer cadets. On the night of November 3, the Kremlin was taken. Soviet power had triumphed in Moscow too.

After the Kerensky-Krasnov revolt had failed, and the overwhelming majority of the units on the Northern Front had sided with the revolutionary forces, counter-revolutionaries pinned all their hopes on the Western Front.

The significance of that front was explained not only by its proximity to Petrograd and Moscow, but also by the fact that GHQ, the most dangerous centre of the anti-Soviet plot, around which all counter-revolutionary forces were being hastily concentrated, was situated in its area, in Mogilev. It was planned at GHQ to form a counter-revolutionary government headed by the Socialist-Revolutionary Chernov. After Kerensky's escape General Dukhonin proclaimed himself the Supreme Commander-in-Chief. Foreign military missions assigned to GHQ supported Russian counter-revolutionaries. They promised Dukhonin all possible assistance and encouraged him not to obey the Soviet Government.

Acting on behalf of the Soviet Government, Lenin insisted that Dukhonin should immediately start armistice negotiations with German command in accordance with the Decree on Peace. Dukhonin refused to comply with this demand. Then the Council of People's Commissars removed him from his post and appointed in his stead the Bolshevik Krylenko, who had taken an active part in the armed uprising in Petrograd.

On November 9, Lenin, speaking over the radio, called upon all regimental, divisional, corps, army and other committees, all soldiers and sailors to take the cause of peace into their own hands. This served to encourage the initiative of the soldiers. Without waiting for a general armistice, Russian units began to conclude temporary "local" armistice agreements with German units on individual sectors of the front.

A detachment of revolutionary soldiers and sailors headed by Krylenko was sent from Petrograd to Mogilev to crush the

revolt initiated by generals and led by Dukhonin and Right Socialist-Revolutionary leaders. Similar detachments were sent to Mogilev from Minsk and other cities.

On November 18, Krylenko's detachment arrived in Mogilev. On the same day the Mogilev Revolutionary Military Committee proclaimed itself the supreme power in the city and took control over General Headquarters. General Dukhonin was murdered by insurgent soldiers.

The defeat of the Kerensky-Krasnov revolt and the liquidation of the counter-revolutionary GHQ proved convincingly that all attempts of the bourgeoisie, counter-revolutionary generals and leaders of the smashed counter-revolutionary parties to use the army against the revolution were in vain. The soldiers of the Petrograd garrison, Baltic Fleet sailors and soldiers from battle fronts, particularly of the Northern and Western fronts, actively supported the socialist revolution.

Between the end of October of 1917 and February-March of 1918 Soviet power was spreading with such rapidity throughout the vast country that Lenin referred to this as the triumphant march of Soviet power. This triumph was a result of the enormous organisational work of the Bolshevik Party and the revolutionary activity of the masses.

The country's central regions with their industrial and political centres and the nationally homogeneous, predominantly Russian, population were the basis for the socialist revolution. The working class acted as the leading and decisive force in the socialist revolution, in establishing and consolidating Soviet power in the centre of the country and in the provinces.

The Party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government called upon the working people in town and country to take power into their own hands and sent thousands of their representatives to give them practical assistance. The Petrograd Revolutionary Military Committee, which sent commissars, instructors, agitators and sometimes even Red Guard detachments to provinces and districts, gave enormous assistance to local Soviets.

Between October 25 and 31, 1917, the Soviets assumed power in 17 provincial centres. By the end of November Soviet power had been established in 28 provincial cities and major industrial centres of the country and in most of the front-line armies.

The triumphant march of Soviet power was not uniform, but had its specific features in various regions of the country. As a rule, in large industrial centres, where the Soviets had been completely on the side of the Bolsheviks and had controlled the situation even in the period of preparations for the socialist revolution, power passed peacefully into the hands of the Soviets. In some cities, however, counter-revolutionaries imposed an armed struggle on workers and peasants.

Counter-revolutionary Don Cossacks, headed by ataman Kaledin, were one of the most dangerous enemies of the revolution.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution Kaledin openly declared that the Don Army did not recognise the authority of the Soviet Government, proclaimed martial law in the Don region and started an undisguised war against Soviet power. Counter-revolutionary Russian bourgeoisie and landowners rallied around Kaledin. He was the main trump card of the Entente imperialists in their struggle against Soviet power. In December 1917 on the instruction of the US President Wilson, the American National Bank handed $ 500,000 over to Kaledin; the French Government granted him a 100-million roubles' loan. Assisted by Kaledin, tsarist generals Alexeyev and Kornilov set about forming a White Guard "volunteer army".

In November 1917, Kaledin, supported by Cossack upper-crust, captured Rostov and then Taganrog where he established a regime of White-Guard terror. He intended to take the offensive across the Donets Basin towards the central regions of the country.

The Soviet Government took resolute measures to crush Kaledin. Red Guard detachments and revolutionary regiments commanded by Vladimir Antonov-Ovseyenko were sent to the Don from Moscow, Petrograd and the Donbas. Class differentiation intensified among the Cossacks, and a fierce class struggle ensued. In January, front-line Cossacks held a congress in the village of Kamenskaya, which officially recognised Soviet power and set up the Don Revolutionary Committee headed by Cossack F. G. Podtelkov. By the end of January 1918, White Guard position had become hopeless. Kaledin committed suicide.

The workers of Taganrog rose up in arms and established Soviet power in their town. On February 24, the Red forces took

Rostov and then, a day later, Novocherkassk. The Don Soviet Republic was established in March.

Almost simultaneously, (in December 1917-January 1918), Soviet power was established in all major centres of the Kuban and Black Sea regions, the Kuban Soviet Republic being proclaimed in April.

At the close of 1917 and the beginning of 1918, the young Soviet Republic had to fight in the area of Orenburg against ataman Dutov, who led a revolt of the counter-revolutionary section of the Cossacks. Dutov was supported by the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, Kazakh and Bashkir nationalists and foreign and Russian counter-revolutionaries. In November 1917 Dutov seized Orenburg, thereby cutting Central Asia off from Soviet Russia and threatening the industrial centres in the Urals and the Volga region, and attempted to form a united front with Kaledin.

To combat Dutov the Soviet Government sent armed forces from Petrograd and Moscow, the Urals, and from some cities in the Volga region, Central Asia and Kazakhstan. More than 10,000 revolutionary fighters were concentrated against Dutov. On January 18, 1918, the revolutionary forces captured Orenburg, Dutov's "capital". Dutov himself escaped into Orenburg steppes.

It took Soviet power comparatively little time to establish itself in the vast territory of Siberia and the Far East. In mid-October the First All-Siberia Congress of Soviets held in Irkutsk came out in favour of the transfer of all power to the Soviets and set up a single governing body for the whole of Siberia—the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Siberia. An important role in the struggle for Soviet power in this region was played by N. N. Yakovlev, P. P. Postyshev, and S. G. Lazo to name but a few. Between October 1917 and January 1918 Soviet power was established throughout the entire territory of Siberia and the Far East.

The establishment of Soviet power in the national regions was beset with greater difficulties.

These were first connected with the socio-economic and political backwardness of the local population in a number of national regions. Many peoples had no national working class, and

this was the reason for the weakness of Bolshevik organisations and for a comparatively greater influence of conciliator and nationalistic parties on the working masses.

Secondly, in these regions the revolution encountered the resistance of bourgeois-nationalistic "governments", which, using the slogan of struggle for national independence as a cover, declared war on Soviet power.

Thirdly, the Russian counter-revolutionary leaders who had been driven out from the centre and all other rabid enemies of Soviet power moved to the outlying areas of the country. Forming blocs with local bourgeois nationalists, they tried to create seats of counter-revolution there.

Finally, the revolutionary forces experienced incomparably greater pressure here from foreign imperialists than in the centre. The subversive activity of imperialist agents was facilitated here by the fact that many national regions were actually the borderlands of the country.

Due to these circumstances the development of the socialist revolution in national regions of the country was distinguished by a variety of specific forms and methods of struggle.

The first legislative acts of the newly-established Soviet Government had a great impact on the development of the revolutionary activity of the non-Russian working masses. Lenin's nationalities policy, as well as the Decrees on Peace and on Land, were of decisive significance for the success of the revolution in the national regions of the country.

On November 2, 1917, the Soviet Government adopted the "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia", abolishing national oppression and granting equal rights and complete freedom to the peoples of Russia. Thus, an end was put to the policy of violence and oppression, of inciting peoples against each other, and staging provocations and pogroms. The Declaration proclaimed a policy of friendship and brotherhood between the peoples of Russia. It also formulated the fundamental propositions determining the nationalities policy of Soviet power: equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia, their right to free self-determination up to and including secession and the formation of independent states, the abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions, and the free development of

national minorities and ethnic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia.

In its appeal "To All Working Muslims of Russia and the East", published on November 22, 1917, the Soviet Government declared religious beliefs and customs, national and cultural institutions of working Muslims free and inviolable.

Pursuing this internationalist emancipatory policy, the Bolshevik Party aroused the working people of all nationalities to the struggle for the triumph of Soviet power.

Byelorussia was the first national region to establish Soviet power. Even before the October Revolution the Bolshevik organisations of Byelorussia and the Western Front had enjoyed a decisive influence in Soviets and soldiers' committees. This circumstance enabled the Minsk Soviet to take all power into its own hands on October 25, 1917. On the following day a Revolutionary Military Committee of the Western Region was set up in Minsk. Following this example the Soviets of Gomel, Mogilev, Vitebsk and of other towns also took power into their hands.

By the end of November the Regional Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, a front congress and a congress of Peasants' Soviets were all held in Minsk. It was not long before Byelorussia set up the Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Western Region with A. F. Myasnikov at the head.

Soviet power spread successfully in that part of the Baltic region which was not occupied by the Germans and where there was an influential section of the revolutionary proletariat headed by Bolshevik organisations. On October 24, an insurrection broke out in Reval (now Tallinn), and two days later the Revolutionary Military Committee published a statement announcing the victory of the revolution and the establishment of Soviet power in Estonia. This was followed by the establishment of Soviet power in Latvia. In December the Soviets of Workers', Riflemen's and Farm Labourers' Deputies of Latvia held a congress in the town of Valka under the leadership of the Bolsheviks which elected the first Soviet government of Latvia.

In the Ukraine, the struggle for Soviet power proceeded in complex and difficult conditions. On October 25, Kiev learned

about the victory of the armed uprising in Petrograd. Revolutionary workers and soldiers of Kiev demanded an immediate transfer of power to Soviets. A joint meeting of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and of the Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies, held on October 27, set up a Revolutionary Military Committee, which however, was arrested on the following day.

This blow did not dampen the spirit of the masses or their will for struggle. The Bolsheviks of the Arsenal Factory, one of the largest in Kiev, took the revolutionary initiative into their hands. They formed a new Revolutionary Military Committee, which drew up a plan for an insurrection and mobilised revolutionary forces.

An armed uprising flared up in Kiev in the evening of October 29. In spite of the numerical superiority of the Provisional Government's forces, the insurgent workers and soldiers won completely on October 31. Thus power in Kiev passed to the Soviets.

But then the Central Rada appeared on the scene, which during the struggle adopted a temporising policy. It withdrew four regiments, loyal to it, from the front and sent them to Kiev. This manoeuvre enabled the Rada to tip the balance of forces in its favour and seize power in Kiev. The Central Rada proclaimed its power over the entire Ukraine. It also officially refused to recognise the authority of the Soviet Government, actually declared war on Soviet Russia. The Rada established contact with counter-revolutionary centres in the south of Russia and other forces hostile to Soviet power.

The Rada's accession to power was due to the fact that it managed to win, if only for a short period of time, the support of a section of the Ukrainian peasantry and of the Ukrainian troops. At first, even a section of the working class failed to see the counter-revolutionary essence of the Rada, which capitalised on the national feeling of the Ukrainian people and the sham opposition to the great-power policy of the Provisional Government, and resorted to social demagoguery.

The first few weeks of Rada's rule revealed its class character. It was the dictatorship of the nationalist Ukrainian bourgeoisie, which had close links with foreign imperialism.

The masses soon realised that the bourgeois nationalists would

give them neither peace, nor land, nor bread. They consequently turned their backs on the Rada.

The people's struggle against the nationalist counter-revolutionaries was gaining momentum. On December 11, the Ukrainian Soviets held their first congress in Kharkov. On the following day the congress proclaimed Soviet power in the Ukraine, elected the Central Executive Committee and formed the Soviet Government of the Ukraine—the People's Secretariat.[1] Thus, the Ukrainian people took the first step in building up their Soviet national state. The Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Republic greeted the Soviet Government of the Ukraine and promised it full support in the struggle against counter-revolutionary forces. The People's Secretariat started an armed struggle against the Rada. Red Cossack detachments began to be formed, and these eventually became the basis for the Ukrainian Red Army. The Ukrainian revolutionary detachments, which fought against the Rada, were joined by the Red Guards from Petrograd, Moscow, Smolensk and some other cities.

After Kharkov and Yekaterinoslav (now Dnepropetrovsk) Soviet power was established in Odessa, Chernigov and in a number of other towns. January 15, 1918, saw the beginning of an armed uprising in Kiev, which was of great help for the revolutionary forces advancing towards Kiev. On January 26, Kiev was liberated. The members of the Rada fled to Volyn. On January 30, the Soviet Government of the Ukraine moved from Kharkov to Kiev. Soviet power triumphed almost throughout the entire territory of the Ukraine.

In mid-December 1917, Soviet power was set up in Sevastopol. As a result of an armed uprising, in the course of which Tatar bourgeois nationalists, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries were smashed, Soviet power was established in Simferopol in the middle of January 1918. In March the Socialist Republic of Taurida was formed in the Crimea, and later Soviet power was set up in Moldavia.

In March Soviet power was established in the Terek Region and then in Daghestan. The whole of the North Caucasus became

[1] The People's Secretariat included Artem (F. A. Sergeyev), N. A. Skrypnik, Y. B. Bosh, Y. M. Kotsyubinsky and others.

Soviet. An outstanding role in the struggle for Soviet power in the North Caucasus was played by S. M. Kirov, S. G. Buachidze and U. D. Buinaksky.

In Transcaucasia the struggle for Soviet power was prolonged largely as a result of the extreme complexity and intensity of social and national relations. Apart from Baku, there were no large industrial centres to speak of in the region. The local proletariat was insignificant numerically and furthermore scattered (most of the workers were employed at small enterprises). Bourgeois-nationalistic organisations still enjoyed considerable influence among the masses.

The Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Republic appointed the outstanding Bolshevik leader S. G. Shahumyan as the Extraordinary Commissar for the Caucasian Affairs. He headed the Soviet government in Baku. The development of the revolution in Transcaucasia faced great difficulties. On November 15, counter-revolutionary parties of Transcaucasia—the Georgian Mensheviks, Dashnaks and Mussavatists, supported by foreign imperialists, set up their own organ of power. The counter-revolutionaries of Transcaucasia succeeded in mustering forces to retard the spread of Soviet power, and launched a struggle against revolutionary workers in Baku. Assisted by White Guard generals and foreign agents, the counter-revolutionaries built up their armed forces on the territory of Transcaucasia, established a regime of terror there and in January 1918 organised a brutal massacre of the Russian soldiers who were returning from the Caucasian Front.

In spite of the violence and terror of the counter-revolutionaries, the working masses of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, particularly workers and soldiers, fought against foreign interventionists and bourgeois nationalists. Prominent Bolsheviks, such as M. Azizbekov, P. Dzhaparidze, F. Makharadze, N. Narimanov, M. Tskhakaya and S. Shahumyan, were very active in Transcaucasia.

It was only towards the end of the Civil War—in 1920-1921—that the working people of Transcaucasia could finally throw off the yoke of bourgeois nationalists and foreign interventionists.

In Central Asia, the nucleus of the revolution was Tashkent. On October 28, railway workers and revolutionary soldiers in

the city rose up in arms to fight for Soviet power. The bitter fighting lasted for four days until the insurgents finally won on October 31. The Turkestan Committee of the Provisional Government was deposed. Following Tashkent, Soviet power triumphed almost throughout Turkestan. In mid-November, the Second Territorial Congress of Soviets was convened in Tashkent to proclaim Soviet power in the territory and formed a Soviet Government—the Council of People's Commissars of Turkestan.

In some cities and regions, however, Soviet power was not established until several months later. On the whole, this process had been completed by March 1918. In the course of the struggle for Soviet power, the main centres of bourgeois-nationalist counter-revolutionaries in Central Asia were crushed. As a result of the bitter struggle, the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, assisted by the Russian people, freed themselves from social and national oppression and embarked on the road of Soviet development.

Thus, in the course of three or four months, the Great October Socialist Revolution, sparked off by the armed uprising in Petrograd on October 25, 1917, marched triumphantly across the country to its victorious conclusion.

The Creation of Soviet State

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the main instrument for transforming society along socialist lines. To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and use it as the main instrument for building socialism, it was necessary, first and foremost, to smash the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and landowners and replace it by Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

The existence of Soviets united in an all-Russia organisation was of decisive significance for the establishment and consolidation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "If the creative enthusiasm of the revolutionary classes had not given rise to the Soviets," Lenin wrote "the proletarian revolution in Russia would have been a hopeless cause, for the proletariat

could certainly not retain power with the old state apparatus, and it is impossible to create a new apparatus immediately".[1]

The smashing of the old and the creation of the new state apparatus meant in practice: firstly, the immediate and complete abolition of the former bodies of oppression of the working people (the police, courts, army, etc.), secondly, the creation of new, Soviet organs of power and administration with entirely new functions—protection of the interests of the working people and management of the economic and cultural life of the country; and finally the employment of the technical, economic and accounting organs of the old apparatus (means of transport and communication, banks, cooperatives, etc.) reorganised in such a way as to meet the interests of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The measures taken by the Soviet Government were sabotaged in various ways by old-time officials who refused to work and resigned from their posts or deliberately muddled up business, and stole important documents, etc. This sabotage was aimed at disorganising the state power of workers and peasants.

Thousands of workers and peasants had to be sent to work in state institutions and taught to manage state affairs in the course of their practical work. Old-time specialists were also enlisted to serve Soviet power. The services of bourgeois experts specialising in various branches of science and technology as well as of experienced administrators and managers could not be dispensed with.

Party organisations, the Soviets, trade unions, the Red Guard, soldiers' and sailors' committees promoted their finest representatives to important posts in various state bodies.

New employees from among workers and peasants came to work in the People's Commissariats. They were still lacking in administration experience but were steadily accumulating it by persistent effort. They helped to destroy the apparatus of the old, bourgeois ministries and create a new, Soviet state apparatus.

Envoys of the Baltic sailors and of the workers from the Siemens-Schuckert plant in Petrograd formed the nucleus of the

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 104.

People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, while workers from the Putilov Works occupied many posts in the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs. Students from the Mining Institute, functionaries of the Seamen's and River-Transport Workers' Trade Union as well as petty employees of the former ministry came to work in the People's Commissariat for Trade and Industry. Students at the women's advanced courses and workers of the Vyborg district of Petrograd helped to staff the People's Commissariat for Education. The People's Commissariat for Nationalities Affairs consisted of the foremost representatives of the working people in the national regions.

By the beginning of 1918 the counter-revolutionary sabotage of old-regime employees had been overcome in the main. Not only their lower echelons but also medium level employees were gradually going over to the side of Soviet power. Thus a basic staff to run the People's Commissariats was found.

The Council of People's Commissars guided the work of the People's Commissariats, issued decrees and instructions and supervised their implementation.

As the organs of state administration were being formed in the centre, Soviet power was taking root in the provinces, bringing new organs of government into being. Many representatives of central organs of power helped local Soviets to organise the Soviet apparatus and implement the decrees of Soviet power.

Awakened to revolutionary creativity, the workers and peasants in the provinces smashed the old government apparatus, and took the management of all state affairs into their own hands. On their initiative the Soviets formed local organs of power and administration, independently determined their functions and representation quotas and established the structure of the executive bodies. Many Soviets took the central organisation of Soviet government as an example. Central Executive Committees, Councils of People's Commissars and Commissariats were formed in provinces, regions, and districts. Some provinces and districts were proclaimed "republics".

The slogan "All power to the Soviets!" was of decisive importance for the triumph of Soviet power, but in some places it began to be interpreted as implying the independence of local power from the central one, which was fraught with the danger of sep-

aratism and decentralisation, particularly in the Soviets headed by Left Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Early in December 1917 the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party gave local Party organisations concrete instructions on questions concerning the practical work of the Soviets. The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs summed up the early experience of the organisation of Soviets and published an appeal to all Soviets "On the Organisation of Local Self-Government" and an instruction "On the Rights and Duties of Soviets", establishing a uniform structure of local Soviets and specifying their rights and duties. It also reaffirmed the principle of the Soviets' undivided power and of democratic centralism as the basis of their work. The instruction recorded the complete independence of Soviets in dealing with local issues and also made it incumbent upon them to put into effect the decrees of the Soviet Government and decisions and rulings of higher bodies.

The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government fought persistently against separatism, parochialism, and anarcho-syndicalism. The process of establishing a uniform organisational structure of local Soviets and of overcoming separatism and decentralisation was completed in the main on the basis of the Constitution of the RSFSR adopted in July 1918.

The All-Russia Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) was formed on December 7 under the Council of People's Commissars to combat counter-revolution, sabotage and profiteering. It was headed by Felix Dzerzhinsky.

To ensure the revolutionary law and order and the security of Soviet citizens a Soviet militia was formed from workers and peasants, the duties of which were initially performed by Red Guards.

Soviet power destroyed the bourgeois-landowner judiciary system and created a system of new judicial establishments to protect the interests of the working people. Revolutionary tribunals elected by Soviets dealt with counter-revolutionaries. A new, workers' and peasants' army was needed to defend the country from attacks by foreign imperialists and to crush counter-revolutionaries within the country. The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government realised that the soldiers and the population were fed up with war and that the old army was incapable of becom-

ing an army of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it could not be disbanded at once, for this would have immediately resulted in an invasion by German forces. The Soviet Government started work on a complete democratisation of the Army and Navy. On December 16, it issued decrees "On the Elective Principle and the Organisation of Power in the Army" and "On Granting Equal Rights to All Servicemen". The soldiers, headed by revolutionary military committees and soldiers' committees in units and formations, and the sailors' committees in the Navy, elected their commanders. All reactionary, undemocratic institutions in the Army and Navy were abolished as were all ranks, distinctions and titles. The armed forces were wrested from counter-revolutionary generals and officers and made subordinate to the Council of People's Commissars.

Parallel with the democratisation of the old Army and Navy, the Soviet Government commenced their gradual demobilisation which had been completed by the summer of 1918.

At the same time, the Soviet Government began creating a new, Soviet army. In conditions of capitalist encirclement it was impossible to replace the old army by totally arming the people, as Marxists had formerly proposed. The system of territorial-militia forces and universal military training of the working people proved to be inadequate.

Red Guard detachments became the nucleus of the new army. Towards the end of December 1917, the first units were formed in Petrograd from volunteers, including a regiment of Putilov workers. In January 1918, the Council of People's Commissars adopted and the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets endorsed the decree on the organisation of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. On February 11, the Soviet Government published a decree on the organisation of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Navy.

The decree on the creation of the Red Army provided for a complete disarmament of the propertied classes. The Red Army was formed from workers and toiling peasants of all nationalities on a voluntary basis. The principle of voluntariness made it possible to organise an ideologically strong army from the foremost representatives of the working class and the toiling peasantry. However, the principle of voluntariness was a temporary meas-

ure, which paved the way for the subsequent transition to universal military service.

On December 1, 1917, the Soviet Government created a unique, the first-ever state apparatus for regulating and managing the national economy—the Supreme Economic Council. Its programme provided for the nationalisation of the large-scale industry, the introduction of universal labour conscription, putting transport and finances in order, the transfer of industry to peacetime production, and the improvement of trade, etc.

Assisted by trade unions, the Supreme Economic Council created the main branch committees—organs for accounting, control and regulation of individual branches of the national economy. It united and guided the work of local economic organs of Soviet power—regional, provincial and district economic councils which were being set up all over the country.

Elimination of Social and Legal Survivals of Feudalism

The creation of the Soviet state and the initial steps taken along the road of socialist construction were accompanied by the elimination of the vestiges of feudalism, the system of estates and the inequality that still survived in all spheres of life.

On November 10, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars adopted the decree "On the Abolition of Estates and Civil Ranks". The Soviet Government abolished the division of society into the nobility, peasants, merchants, lower middle class, as well as the titles (princes, counts, etc.) and civil ranks (table of ranks). All people were given the same denomination—citizen of the Russian Soviet Republic.

By abolishing national inequality and establishing complete freedom and equality for all peoples of the country Soviet power put an end to the oppression of peoples and paved the way for their international unity.

The unequal status for men and women was one of the most abominable survivals of the past. On December 18, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars adopted a decree granting women equal rights with men and proclaiming the recognition of civil marriages. Church marriage became a matter of private concern for the individual.

Illegitimate children were given the same rights as legitimate children.

Prior to the revolution the Church was a part of the state apparatus. It was used by the tsarist government as a major instrument for the spiritual enslavement of the working people. By its decree of January 23, 1918, the Soviet Government separated the Church from the state and the school from the Church. All privileges enjoyed by the Orthodox Church were cancelled, the Church was now unable to interfere in state affairs and was no longer subsidised by the state. The teaching of religious doctrines in educational establishments was abolished. Complete freedom of conscience and of professing or not professing any religion was established.

Thus, in the process of the socialist revolution the Soviet Government rooted out all vestiges of feudalism and medieval times in social and legal relations.

Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly

After the victory of the October Revolution counter-revolutionaries still hoped that the Constituent Assembly would help them overthrow Soviet power and restore the bourgeois system.

The Soviet Government agreed to the convocation of the Constituent Assembly because illusions about it still had a strong hold on the masses. They had to be helped to lose their illusions on this score. Only by coming face to face with the activity of the Constituent Assembly could the masses become convinced of its counter-revolutionary nature.

The elections to the Constituent Assembly began on November 15, 1917. Of the 715 deputies elected to the Assembly, 412 were Socialist-Revolutionaries and 183 Bolsheviks. The latter received the overwhelming majority in big cities and industrial centres. In Petrograd and Moscow not only the working class but also the soldiers voted for the Bolsheviks. The Socialist-Revolutionaries won the elections due to support from the agrarian provinces. The Socialist-Revolutionaries' list compiled before the split in this party, included Right Socialist-Revolutionaries who were against Soviet power and Left Socialist-Revolutionaries who supported So-

viet power at that time. Most of the peasants, who voted for the common Socialist-Revolutionaries' list, already followed the Left S.R.s but elected Right Socialist-Revolutionaries. Consequently, the peasant vote did not mirror their actual attitude to Soviet power.

On January 3, 1918, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee adopted the Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People drawn up by Lenin; it recorded the gains of the socialist revolution and mapped out concrete tasks in reorganising society along socialist lines. It was decided to submit this declaration to the Constituent Assembly immediately after its opening.

The Constituent Assembly was opened in Petrograd in Taurida Palace on January 5, 1918. On that day counter-revolutionaries attempted to stir up a mutiny against Soviet power, but were dispersed by the Red Guard and revolutionary sailors.

The Constituent Assembly was opened by the Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee Yakov Sverdlov who suggested that the Constituent Assembly should adopt the Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People. The Assembly, however, refused to adopt it, showing thereby that this bourgeois parliament could not and did not want to meet the vital interests of the masses. The Bolsheviks stated that they did not want to conceal the crimes perpetrated by enemies of the people and walked out of the Assembly. On January 6, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee issued a decree dissolving the Constituent Assembly.

Lenin referred to deputies of the Constituent Assembly as "people from another world" and January 5 as the wasted day.

The Constituent Assembly, which played the pitiful role of covering counter-revolutionaries in their efforts to overthrow Soviet power, ceased to exist. The working people of Soviet Russia approved the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly.

The Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets

In the early days of the October Revolution the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies, which functioned separately from the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, were united by the Executive

Committee of the Peasants' Soviets, which was headed by the Socialist-Revolutionaries. The All-Russia Central Executive Committee, elected by the Second Congress of Soviets, united only part of the Peasants' Soviets.

At the congresses of Soviets of Peasants' Deputies, held in November and the beginning of December 1917, the Bolsheviks overcame the vacillations of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and fought against the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, scoring considerable success. The congresses decided to unite the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies with the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and to merge the Executive Committee of the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies with the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. A bloc was formed between the Bolsheviks and the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, based on the socialist platform of the Bolsheviks.

The Council of People's Commissars decided to include seven Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, who were given the posts of the People's Commissars of agriculture, justice, post and telegraph, district and city self-government and of property of the Republic. Two Left Socialist-Revolutionaries were included in the Council of People's Commissars as People's Commissars "without portfolios". Left Socialist-Revolutionaries were included in the collegia of all People's Commissariats. The leader of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries M. A. Spiridonova was elected Deputy Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.

The Bolsheviks were in the majority in the highest organs of Soviet power—the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars. This ensured consistent implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Bolshevik Party formed the government bloc with the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries because it strove to create a united democratic front of Soviet power, with the alliance between the working class and all working people led by the working class as its nucleus.

The leaders of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries had to form a bloc with the Bolsheviks under the pressure from the rank-and-file members of their Party and non-Party delegates of the Peasants' Soviets, who fought actively for Soviet power. They had

to reckon with the enormous popularity of the Soviet Government and Lenin's Decree on Land among the peasants. The leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionaries feared lest the struggle against Soviet power should alienate them from the peasants, a considerable part of whom followed their party.

However, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries proved to be unreliable and constantly vacillating fellow travellers of Soviet power. In the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars they opposed the basic socialist measures, taking the side of the Bolsheviks only on the issues that concerned the tasks of a bourgeois-democratic revolution which the socialist revolution was accomplishing in its stride. As the socialist revolution gathered momentum, they went increasingly over to the camp of the enemies of Soviet power.

The Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies opened on January 10, 1918.

Deputies of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Soviets represented the working population of all peoples inhabiting the Soviet state, including the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Latvian regions free from German occupation, Estonia and Central Asia. Transcaucasia was represented only by delegates from Baku.

The Congress adopted the Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People, which said: "Russia is hereby proclaimed a Republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All power, centrally and locally, is vested in these Soviets."[1]

The Declaration proclaimed a programme for building a socialist society and set forth the basic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. It confirmed the public ownership of land, and the government's main decrees on the revolutionary transformation of the country.

Exploiters, as the Declaration said, were deprived of the right to take part in state administration. It proclaimed a truly free and voluntary union of the working classes of all nationalities inhabiting Russia and recorded the fundamental principles of fed-

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 423.

eration as a form of state unification of Soviet republics in a single multinational state.

In addition to the Declaration, the congress adopted the resolution "On Federal Institutions of the Russian Republic". According to this document, the highest organ of power was the All-Russia Congress of Soviets, and in the interval between its sessions—the All-Russia Central Executive Committee elected by the All-Russia Congress of Soviets. The Council of People's Commissars, elected or removed by the All-Russia Congress of Soviets or the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, was proclaimed the government of the federation. The Congress named the newly-formed state as the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and instructed the All-Russia Central Executive Committee to further elaborate the fundamental provisions and clauses of the Constitution.

The Congress also adopted a law establishing the procedure for the distribution of the land handed over to peasants. Amplifying the Decree on Land, the Law specified agrarian reforms in the Soviet republic. Land administration bodies were to promote in every way the spread of collective farming.

The Congress's decisions and resolutions became the basis for the creation of the multinational state and the formation of its constituent republics. Principles of the Soviet autonomy were elaborated.

Thus, already in the first few months of the socialist revolution the Soviet state was established and consolidated across the vast expanses of Russia.

Gaining a Peaceful Respite. The Brest Peace Treaty

By proposing peace to all the belligerent countries in the Decree passed by the Second Congress of Soviets the Soviet republic commenced its struggle for a universal, democratic peace, for a peace without annexations and indemnities.

On November 14, 1917, the Council of People's Commissars sent a note to the governments of France, Great Britain, Italy, the USA, Belgium, Serbia, Romania, Japan and China, asking whether they would agree to start peace negotiations or whether they were going to continue the war.

Later, after the Soviet Government had started peace negotiations with the Austrian-German bloc, it repeatedly approached the Entente countries, inviting them to take part in peace negotiations. But the Entente governments did not respond to these appeals, thereby frustrating the cause of universal peace.

The working people in these countries reacted differently to the Soviet peace proposals. In all the belligerent countries they pressed for a peace based on Soviet proposals.

In its struggle for a universal democratic peace and for equality among peoples, the Soviet Government was guided by the principles of respect for the sovereignty of all states. In December 1917, in full conformity with the right of nations to self-determination and the formation of independent states, it recognised the independence of the Ukraine and Finland. The Soviet Government withdrew Russian troops from Iran (Persia) and declared null and void the secret treaties concluded between Russia, Britain and other countries, which violated Iran's rights as an independent state. The Council of People's Commissars adopted a decree "On the Turkish Armenia", occupied during the First World War by the Russian troops. The Armenians were granted the right to free self-determination and to complete independence.

The secret diplomatic documents[1] made public by the Soviet Government proved incontrovertibly that the aim of the war that the imperialists were continuing was the seizure of new territories, and the enslavement and plunder of the peoples. By publishing the secret documents the Soviet Government rendered effective assistance to workers in the capitalist countries in their struggle against the imperialists.

The latter made an attempt to weaken the enormous revolutionising impact of the Decree on Peace and the subsequent peace initiatives of the Soviet Government. The so-called Fourteen Points issued by US President Wilson in January 1918 were

[1] The collections of secret documents published after the October Revolution contain more than 100 treaties and other material, including the agreement on the partition of Turkey, signed in 1916 between Great Britain, France and Russia, the 1913 agreement on the division and occupation of Albania, concluded between Austria-Hungary and Italy, etc.

vaunted by the bourgeoisie as a "peace programme", but, in fact, they were nothing more than a programme for imperialist aggrandisement and claims to world supremacy by the American imperialists, camouflaged by phrases about "democracy", "humanity", "independence", etc. The commentaries attached to the programme contained a plan for the overthrow of Soviet power and the division of the territory of Russia between the imperialist states.

Only the Soviet programme for universal peace showed a real way of putting a stop to the war on a truly democratic and just basis.

Since the governments of the Entente refused to conduct negotiations for a universal, democratic peace, the Soviet state started peace negotiations with Germany and her allies.

The German Government accepted the Soviet proposal on peace negotiations, hoping to ease the difficult military and economic situation of its country. The German command was aware of the frequent cases of fraternisation between German and Russian soldiers and of their growing desire for peace. German and Russian front-line divisions, corps and armies, concluded local armistice agreements. In November the soldiers of the Western Front and German units signed an armistice agreement for two months.

Negotiations started by government delegations from Germany and Soviet Russia in Brest-Litovsk (now Brest) on November 20, 1917, culminated in the conclusion of a 28 day armistice. On the insistence of the Soviet delegation the agreement included a point prohibiting any transfers of the German forces from the Eastern to the Western Front.

When the peace negotiations were resumed on December 9, the Soviet Government proposed to conclude peace without annexations or indemnities. The German imperialists refused to conclude peace on these terms and presented onerous, predatory demands according to which Germany would receive the Moonsund Islands, the Gulf of Riga, the city of Riga, and also Poland, Luthuania and the part of Latvia and Byelorussia occupied in the course of the war.

The Soviet Government was faced with a dilemma: they must either conclude peace with imperialist Germany and at the cost

of heavy territorial losses save the Soviet Republic, or continue the war, and put the existence of the Soviet state in jeopardy.

In his theses on the question of peace Lenin emphasised the need for an immediate conclusion of a separate peace treaty on the terms suggested by Germany. The war-weary people yearned for peace. The old army was unable to beat back another German offensive, and a new one was still to be created; it was essential to muster forces and prepare the country for defence.

All counter-revolutionary forces in Russia—the monarchists, Cadets, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries—started a fierce campaign against the conclusion of peace. They calculated that if peace talks reached a deadlock, the German imperialists would launch an offensive deep into Russia and strangle Soviet power in its infancy. Inside the Party itself a faction of "Left Communists" headed by Bukharin opposed Lenin's point of view. They insisted on the continuation of the war, claiming that this would be a revolutionary war for the overthrow of German imperialism. Trotsky likewise was against the conclusion of peace, putting forward his formula: "neither peace nor war".

On January 11, the Central Committee resolved to give the Soviet delegation in Brest the directive to continue the talks. It was decided to sign peace, should the Germans deliver an ultimatum.

In the meantime Austrian-German representatives had signed a treaty with the Ukrainian Central Rada. By that time, leaders of the Rada—Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists—had already been driven out of the Ukraine by insurgent workers and peasants. They had neither power nor territory. In order to regain power they granted the German imperialists the "right" to occupy the whole Ukraine.

On January 27 (February 9) the German imperialists presented to the Soviet delegation their terms of peace in the form of an ultimatum. Considering that procrastination was fatal to the Soviet Republic, Lenin instructed the Soviet delegation to sign peace. At Brest conference, however, the head of the Soviet delegation Trotsky declared that Soviet Russia would not sign a peace treaty, but would cease hostilities and demobilise the army. The gross violation of Lenin's directive by Trotsky did great harm to

Soviet Russia. On February 18[1] the German imperialists took offensive all along the Eastern Front, seizing the whole of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Latvia, Estonia, and directly threatening Petrograd.

In the evening of February 18 on Lenin's insistence, the Central Committee of the Party decided to approach the German Government with a proposal for the immediate conclusion of a peace treaty. Early next morning the Soviet Government forwarded its proposals to the headquarters of the German Eastern Front. At that time the German forces were attacking all along the front. The fate of the Soviet Republic hang in the balance.

All the country's forces were mobilised to rebuff the enemy. On February 22, the Soviet Government issued an appeal to the working population of Russia, stating that the socialist homeland was in danger. Total mobilisation was proclaimed. Workers and peasants joined the Red Army. During the first few days after the appeal was published nearly 40,000 people volunteered for the Red Army in Petrograd and over 60,000 in Moscow. At the front near Pskov, Narva and Reval Red Army detachments received their baptism of fire in heroic battles against the forces of imperialist Germany. (In commemoration of this event, February 23 is celebrated as a national holiday—Red Army Day).

On February 23, the Soviet Government received new terms of peace from Germany. They were still more onerous, providing for the seizure by Germany not only of Poland, Lithuania and part of Byelorussia, but also Latvia, Estonia and Finland in their entirety. The Ukraine was to become German dependent and Turkey was to possess Kars, Ardagan and Batum. Under these terms Soviet Russia was to sign peace with the Ukrainian Central Rada, demobilise the Army and Navy and pay an indemnity amounting to 6,000 million marks. Having sent their terms for a peace treaty, the German imperialists continued their offensive, seizing new territories.

On February 24, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee adopted the proposal for the immediate conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. On the same day the "Left Communists",

[1] Here and further on the dates are given according to the new style.—*Ed.*

who suffered a defeat there, passed in the Moscow Regional Party Bureau a resolution of no confidence in the Party's Central Committee. Pressing for the continuation of the war against Germany, they declared that in the interests of the world revolution it might even be expedient to sacrifice Soviet power. This was tantamount to an outright betrayal of the revolution.

The Soviet delegation left for Brest-Litovsk where it signed the peace treaty on March 3.

Ratification of the Brest Peace Treaty

The Seventh Party Congress was held on March 6-8, 1918, to finally settle the question of peace. A report on war and peace was made by Lenin, who conclusively substantiated the need for the ratification of the treaty signed in Brest and demonstrated the erroneousness and harmfulness of the stand taken by Trotsky and the "Left Communists". The Congress was forced to admit that it was essential to accept the onerous and humiliating peace treaty with Germany. The congress emphasised that tightening discipline and improving organisation of workers and peasants and priming them for the allout defence of the socialist homeland were the primary and basic tasks of the moment.

The congress also decided to rename the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks) into the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

On March 14, the Extraordinary Fourth Congress of Soviets held in Moscow[1] ratified the Brest Peace Treaty.

The opponents of the Brest Treaty—the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries—refused to comply with this decision and on March 15 walked out of the Soviet Government. G. V. Chicherin became the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs in place of Trotsky, who resigned.

The conclusion of the Brest Peace Treaty saved Russia from a military defeat. She won a respite for the consolidation of Soviet power, the organisation of economy and the building of

[1] On March 11, 1918, the Soviet Government moved from Petrograd to Moscow.

her armed forces. In connection with the conclusion of the peace treaty Lenin called upon the Party and the Soviet people to bear steadfastly the hardships of the predatory peace and to give all their energies for the consolidation of the Soviet state.

4. THE FIRST SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATIONS IN ECONOMY AND CULTURE. THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE RSFSR

Introduction of Workers' Control Over the Production and Distribution of Products

Socialist transformations in the field of economy were started in the early days of the October Revolution. Lenin worked out a programme for socio-economic reforms and determined the rate and methods of their implementation. In a letter to *Pravda* of November 18, 1917, he stressed the need for "workers' control over the factories, to be followed by their expropriation, the nationalisation of the banks, and the creation of a Supreme Economic Council for the regulation of the entire economic life of the country."[1]

On November 14, 1917, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee adopted a "Statute on Workers' Control". This control was introduced at all industrial, trade, agricultural, transport and cooperative enterprises and banks which employed hired labour. The right to exercise control was granted to factory committees. The activity of the workers' control organs was directed by the All-Russia Workers' Control Council. Decisions passed by these bodies were mandatory for enterprise owners. During the first few months of the revolution workers' control was introduced at all major industrial enterprises.

Workers took part in the administrative and economic activity of employers, hiring and discharging manpower, and ensuring that enterprises were provided with fuel, raw materials and money, and that orders were fulfilled in good time, etc.

Capitalists, supported by bourgeois specialists, Mensheviks and

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Alliance Between the Workers and the Working and Exploited Peasants", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 334.

Socialist-Revolutionaries, reacted to the introduction of workers' control with organised sabotage. They attempted to close down factories and plants and did all they could to disorganise and undermine industry, and bring about economic catastrophe.

In order to prevent further dislocation of industry the Soviet Government expedited the introduction of workers' control over the production and distribution of products and took repressive measures against saboteurs. Workers' control trained workers for industrial management. According to the 1918 census, 64 per cent of the factory committees and special workers' control bodies took part in the management of factories and plants. Introduction of workers' control and the establishment of the Supreme Economic Council were prerequisites for a drastic economic reorganisation of the country.

Nationalisation of Banks and the Initial Nationalisation of Industrial Enterprises

In the very first days of the October Revolution the Soviet Government took over the State Bank. Soviet commissars were appointed to private banks. On December 14, 1917, all private banks were nationalised. A decree on the nationalisation proclaimed banking in the country a state monopoly and established a single People's Bank of the Russian Republic. From an instrument of economic and political domination through finance capital the banks were turned by the Soviet Government into an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, into an apparatus for the state socialist accounting of the production and distribution of products.

On January 28, 1918, the Soviet Government issued a decree cancelling all foreign and domestic loans concluded by the tsarist and Provisional governments. Thus, the country freed itself from a 16,000 million roubles' debt and economic dependence on foreign capitalists.

The decree issued by the Council of People's Commissars on November 17, 1917, on the nationalisation of a factory belonging to the Likino Manufactory Association (near Orekhovo-Zuyevo) initiated the nationalisation of industrial enterprises all

over the country. The factory was to be managed by a board elected by workers. In December 1917, several enterprises in the Urals and the Putilov Works in Petrograd were also nationalised.

Nationalisation of industrial enterprises was accompanied by the nationalisation of transport. Prior to the Revolution more than two-thirds of the railways belonged to the state. After the October Revolution they all became the property of the Soviet state. But to become real masters of the railways, railway workers had to suppress the sabotage of the Menshevik-S.R. All-Russia Executive Committee of the Railwaymen's Trade Union (Vikzhel). The Extraordinary All-Russia Congress of Railwaymen held in January 1918 disbanded the Vikzhel and elected a new All-Russia Executive Committee of Railwaymen, most of whose members were Bolsheviks. This committee formed from its members a Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Railways. In January 1918, the Council of People's Commissars issued a decree on the nationalisation of the merchant marine.

The decree of April 22, 1918, proclaimed the monopoly of foreign trade, which became one of the pillars of the economic policy of the Soviet state.

These resolute measures enabled the Soviet Government not only to suppress military the bourgeois-landowners' counter-revolution, but to overcome the resistance of capitalists and counter-revolutionary agents in the field of economy. The Soviet state took firm control of the commanding heights in economy. The working class consolidated its state power by putting it on the economic basis in the form of the socialist structure in the national economy.

Lenin's Programme for Building the Foundations of the Socialist Economy and the Beginning of Its Implementation

The respite obtained as a result of the conclusion of the Brest Peace Treaty enabled the Soviet people to go over from the "expropriation of the expropriators" to an organised consolidation of the victories won by them, to the building of foundations of the socialist economy and the strengthening of the country's defence capacity. "We, the Bolshevik Party," Lenin wrote, "have *convinced*

Russia. We have *won* Russia from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the working people. Now we must *administer* Russia."[1]

The building of the socialist economy was one of the most difficult tasks facing the Soviet Government because it involved a drastic refashioning of the deepest economic foundations of society in a country where the small-scale peasant economy was predominant. Economically, Russia was a conglomeration of various structures. In the spring of 1918 there were five socio-economic structures: patriarchal (for the most part subsistence) economy; small-commodity production (this included most of the peasants who sold their produce in the market); private capitalist economy; state capitalism (concessions, the lease by capitalists of some Soviet factories, plants, land, mining areas, Soviet joint-stock companies with the participation of private capital, etc.) and the socialist economy. Small-commodity production was predominant in the country. The capitalist mode of production, represented by non-nationalised industrial enterprises, kulak farms and private trade, still had strong roots in the national economy.

Petty-bourgeois element was a serious danger. Lenin wrote: "Either we subordinate the petty bourgeoisie to *our* control and accounting (we can do this if we organise the poor, that is, the majority of the population or semi-proletarians, around the politically conscious proletarian vanguard), or they will overthrow our workers' power as surely and as inevitably as the revolution was overthrown by the Napoleons and Cavaignacs who sprang from this very soil of petty proprietorship."[2]

The situation was aggravated by the economic dislocation. Many enterprises were destroyed or put out of commission by capitalist saboteurs. Factories and plants stood idle for lack of raw materials and fuel. There was an acute shortage of prime necessities. The enemies of Soviet power tried to intimidate the workers by difficulties and predicted the collapse of the Soviet state. But the Communist Party had profound faith in the con-

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, 1974, p. 242.

[2] V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 337.

scious creativity of the people awakened by the revolution, and inspired them to overcome their difficulties and build a new life.

In the spring of 1918 Lenin, in his famous work "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", and in some other works outlined a programme for building the foundations of the socialist economy. He called upon the Soviet people to exert all their efforts, to "lay the firm foundation of socialist society stone by stone..."[1]

As a result of the nationalisation of the basic industries the socialist structure was to become the leading force in the national economy. The main point in Lenin's programme was to restore and develop large-scale machine industry—the material basis of socialism. The plan for economic development provided for a new, rational distribution of industries, for a planned and comprehensive utilisation of natural resources, and for the large-scale application of electricity in the national economy. The development of the large-scale industry, the cultural advancement of the working masses, and the socialist organisation of labour were to become the basic conditions for increasing labour productivity.

As part of the effort to raise labour productivity Lenin attached special importance to socialist emulation which helped to reveal and utilise the creative potentialities and abilities of the masses.

In deciding on the steps to be taken against private capitalism and the petty-bourgeois element the Party paid much attention to a gradual transition to socialist transformations in the field of economy. In this connection Lenin suggested that state capitalism should be used temporarily to boost the economy.

To organise the distribution of products and goods in the country and introduce people's control and accounting, the Soviet Government decided to establish cooperatives that would embrace the entire population.

Lenin analysed the results of the first economic measures taken by the Soviet state and elaborated the fundamentals of its economic policy in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Chief Task of Our Day", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 161.

Drawing on the experience gained from the economic activity of the young Soviet Republic, Lenin substantiated the principle of democratic centralism in the management of industry. This amounted to combining the broad initiative of the masses with the centralised, planned economic guidance of the state and economic organisations.

Opposed by the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and "Left Communists", and faced with incredible difficulties in economic development, the Soviet Government tightened up discipline, introduced one-man management at Soviet enterprises and used bourgeois specialists in industry and the state apparatus. Piece-work was used to make every worker interested in raising labour productivity. But alongside persuasion, the Soviet Government also began to use coercion against grabbers, slackers, thieves and profiteers. The strengthening of labour discipline became one of the central tasks of the Party and the Government. Thus, the Communists learned to organise and manage production in a new, socialist way, using state regulation in the entire economic life of the country.

Lenin put forward the demand: "Keep regular and honest accounts of money, manage economically, do not be lazy, do not steal, observe the strictest labour discipline. . ."[1]

The initiative displayed by workers of a Bryansk factory was an instructive example of the effort to improve labour discipline. Lenin called upon all workers to follow the example set by the Bryansk workers who established a strict order at the factory and undivided authority of the factory manager and shop superintendents. They introduced the accounting of workers' labour productivity and applied strict penalties (including the discharge) to loafers and disorganisers of production.

In view of the growing acts of sabotage by capitalists, aimed at undermining industrial production at private enterprises, the Soviet Government had to step up the nationalisation of large-scale industry.

On June 28, 1918, the Council of People's Commissars adopted a decree on the nationalisation of the biggest enterprises in all

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 243.

basic branches of industry. Only the small-scale and partially medium-scale industry were now managed by private capital.

The nationalised industry was restructured to peace-time production. Particular attention was given to the manufacture of locomotives and coaches and wagons for railways, farm implements and machines.

The Soviet Republic set about building a new, socialist industry. A group of scientists and engineers, including L. B. Krasin, G. M. Krzhizhanovsky and Professor M. A. Shatelen, began work on a general plan for the electrification of Russia. A new organisation, "Elektrostroi", headed by A. V. Vinter, was set up under the Supreme Economic Council. The construction of the Volkhov and Svir hydroelectric power stations was begun. Survey and designing work was being carried out in connection with the planned construction of the Shatura and Kashira electric power plants near Moscow, the Nizhny Novgorod and Ivanovo-Voznesensk district power stations, the electrification of the North Caucasus, the construction of the Volga-Don Canal, etc.

A decision was taken to create a new industrial centre on the basis of the resources of the Urals and the Kuznetsk basin, and a long-range plan for railway construction was drawn up.

Thus, under the leadership of the Communist Party intensive work was started to create a socialist economic system.

The Socialist Revolution in the Countryside

The proletariat accomplished the socialist revolution in alliance with the poor peasants and with the support of the middle peasants. Hostile to the socialist revolution, the kulaks sought to profit by the abolition of the landowners' class and seize the lion's share of the now made available land. This inevitably led to an exacerbation of the class struggle in the countryside. In the autumn and winter of 1917-18, the land which had formerly belonged to landowners, monasteries and the Church, was confiscated throughout the RSFSR. But the egalitarian re-division of land by the peasants was not completed in the main until the spring and summer of 1918. In January-April 1918, the peasants, acting in accordance with Soviet agrarian laws and taking local

conditions into account, set land-use quotas and decided on methods of land re-division at congresses of Soviets and land committees and then discussed them at meetings. The poor peasants demanded a re-division of all land without exception. The kulaks agreed to a re-division of only landowners' land and strongly opposed any re-division of purchased, rented or their own lands.

In most cases land was distributed according to size of family. Peasants with small plots and landless peasants were given additional land confiscated from landowners, monasteries and the Church. As a result of the confiscation of landowners' land and the re-division of land the peasants had more land at their disposal everywhere. The more privately-owned land had been in a district, the more land the peasants got.

The implementation of the land laws improved the economic condition of the toiling peasants. The peasantry was freed from bondage to the landowners, bankers and merchants and received for free use the land and farm implements, live-stock, etc., confiscated from landowners. A considerable part of poor peasants improved their economic position and rose to the level of middle peasants.

In liquidating the landowner class and the vestiges of serfdom the Soviet Government did not limit itself to accomplishing only the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, but pursued also the aims of the socialist revolution. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin said, nationalisation of land "...is not only 'the last word' of the bourgeois revolution, but also *a step towards socialism*".[1] The Communist Party promoted socialist principles in agriculture: the first state enterprises—state farms—appeared in the country and poor peasants began to set up first communes and artels.

The Soviet Government's decrees on land were implemented in conditions of harsh struggle against the kulaks. In many places, the kulaks, actively assisted by the Socialist-Revolutionaries, represented at some land bodies and agencies, seized landowners' land and implements and retained the land they had rented or purchased.

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907", *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, 1972, p. 430.

Taking advantage of the fact that many poor peasants had no grain, seed or farm implements, the kulaks attempted to take from them the land they had just received, compelling them to work as hired labourers.

Poor peasants learned from experience that the only way to keep hunger and bondage from their door was to fight the kulaks. They joined the working class against the kulaks and all other enemies of Soviet power.

Here and there, incited by foreign imperialists and counter-revolutionaries, the kulaks mutinied. Counter-revolutionary revolts swept entire regions. The kulaks, who possessed surplus grain, refused to sell it at fixed state prices. As a result, many industrial cities in the country experienced an acute shortage of foodstuffs.

At the end of April 1918, the daily bread ration in Petrograd was reduced to 50 grams. In Moscow workers received an average of 100 grams of bread a day.

Capitalising on the hunger, the kulaks turned bread into a weapon in the struggle against Soviet power. To obtain bread meant to save the revolution. The fate of Soviet power and of socialism depended on the solution of the food problem.

The All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars decided to take grain away from kulaks by force and thus save the working class and the poor from starvation. The decrees of May 9 and 27, 1918, established a food dictatorship. Emergency powers were concentrated in the hands of the People's Commissariat for Food.

The Party organised a mass campaign, sending workers to villages. Detachments of workers went to the countryside to control the kulaks, and compel them to abide by Soviet laws, to rally the poor and pass on the experience of the struggle and organisation of the working class.

The first workers' food detachments were sent to villages in early June 1918 and considerably helped strengthen Soviet power in the countryside.

The Poor Peasants' Committees formed in accordance with the decree of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of June 11, 1918, played a great role in the struggle for grain and the promotion of the socialist revolution in the countryside.

Poor Peasants' Committees were given the task of distributing grain, prime necessities and agricultural implements, and of assisting local food bodies in requisitioning grain surplus from the kulaks and the rich. Part of the grain requisitioned from the kulaks was distributed among the rural poor.

The Poor Peasants' Committees completed the re-division of the landowners' land among peasants. In addition, a considerable part of the land belonging to the kulaks was handed over to toiling peasants. These committees confiscated kulaks' machines, draught animals, mills, etc., and helped the poor to cultivate the land they had received, supplying them with seeds, farm implements and live-stock. The Poor Peasants' Committees promoted the organisation of socialist centres in agriculture—state farms, agricultural communes and artels.

Poor Peasants' Committees took an active part in a partial dispossession of the kulaks. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, they provided support for the proletariat in the countryside.

The consolidation of Soviet power and the dispossession of the kulaks played a decisive role in winning the middle peasants over to the side of the Soviet Government.

Poor Peasants' Committees helped the Soviet Government to form Red Army units. The principle of voluntariness in recruiting men for the Red Army was replaced by universal military service (the decree of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of May 29). It would have been impossible to undertake mobilisation without the support of the toiling peasants. The Soviet Government had given them land, peace and freedom, and now they began to increasingly realise the need for defending their gains and their power, so that the landowners and capitalists should never regain their domination.

Measures in the Field of Culture and Science

Socialist construction could only proceed successfully provided that the working masses were educated. From the early days of the October Revolution the Soviet Government set about effecting drastic, revolutionary transformations in the field of public education and culture. The decrees on the abolition of estates and

civil ranks, on the separation of the Church from the state and the school from the Church, and on the liquidation of women's inequality eradicated the vestiges of feudalism and class prejudices.

A system of state and Party guidance of cultural development was being created on the basis of the Leninist principles. All aspects of the country's cultural life were guided by the People's Commissariat for Education headed by such prominent Communist Party figures and Lenin's comrades-at-arms as A. V. Lunacharsky, M. N. Pokrovsky and N. K. Krupskaya.

Soviet power also brought the working people real freedom of the press. On October 27, 1917, the Council of People's Commissars adopted a decree on the press, banning all counter-revolutionary, bourgeois newspapers.

Party organisations and local Soviets began to publish hundreds of newspapers in mass circulations. The All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), all people's commissariats published their own newspapers and magazines. In the first year of its existence the People's Commissariat for Nationalities Affairs published newspapers in more than 20 languages of the peoples inhabiting Soviet Russia.

A State Publishing House was set up, which started the publication of works by Marx and Engels and classics of Russian and world literature.

To make books accessible to the working masses, large private libraries, with the exception of libraries belonging to scientists, writers and workers in art, were nationalised. Books were distributed among libraries for the benefit of the new readers—the workers and peasants.

Political-educational work was started among the masses. Clubhouses, community centres, libraries, new museums, various courses, schools and literacy circles were opened. Abolition of illiteracy was proclaimed a task of national importance.

The Soviet state took resolute control of public education. All general educational establishments were placed under the jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat for Education. Parish schools, which accounted for nearly 35 per cent of the primary

schools, as well as zemstvo schools, private and privileged educational establishments were liquidated. People's universities were opened in a number of provincial centres. Workers and peasants got access to higher education. In 1918 new universities were opened in Nizhny Novgorod, Yekaterinoslav, Irkutsk, Voronezh, Smolensk as well as agricultural institutes in Odessa and Omsk, the Moscow Mining Academy, etc.

Having delivered science from the power of capital, the Soviet Government began to create the favourable conditions for its comprehensive development in the interests of the people. The measures taken by the Soviet Government prompted many representatives of the scientific intelligentsia to go over to the side of Soviet power and were instrumental in promoting the development of science.

Early in 1918, a Technical Council was instituted under the Supreme Economic Council, which united the impressive technical and scientific forces of Russia to help solve national economic problems. The People's Commissariat for Education set up a State Academic Council headed by the prominent historian M. N. Pokrovsky. In the spring of 1918, as a result of negotiations held between the People's Commissar for Education A. V. Lunacharsky and the Russian Academy of Sciences, a conference of the Academy of Sciences declared in favour of collaboration with Soviet power in studying the country's natural productive forces.

In accordance with the decision adopted by the Council of People's Commissars in May 1918, a Socialist Academy of Social Sciences was opened in Moscow. It brought together scientific forces working in the field of Marxism-Leninism and social sciences and began to train new scientific personnel. In June 1918, courses for propagandists and agitators were opened under the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, which became the basis for the future Communist University named after Y. M. Sverdlov. Its lecturers included Lenin and other prominent Party leaders and statesmen.

The Soviet Government took important steps to nationalise and protect cultural values (palaces, museums, art collections, archives, architectural monuments, etc.).

The Revolution opened wide prospects for the development

of cultures of all peoples inhabiting Soviet Russia. The proclamation of the right of the formerly oppressed nations to self-determination, to the free development of their national languages and cultures, and the return of historical and cultural values to the peoples of the Ukraine, Poland, Finland, and to Russia's Muslims, played an important role in the creation of the national cultures of the Soviet people.

Thus, in the very first days of its existence Soviet power began to implement large-scale measures aimed at creating a new, socialist culture, measures that initiated a cultural revolution in this country. Scientific, cultural and technological achievements were placed at the disposal of the people. The development of a new culture was begun, a culture that was national in form and socialist in content.

Adoption of the Constitution of the RSFSR

On July 4, 1918, the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets was opened in Moscow. It was preceded by congresses of Soviets in provinces and districts. The workers and poor peasants had expelled from the Soviets the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks as enemies of the people. The influence of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries among the peasants had diminished considerably. Two-thirds of the delegates to the All-Russia Congress were Communists.

The report on the work of the Council of People's Commissars was made by Lenin. Y. M. Sverdlov reported to the Congress on the work of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. The reports summed up the experience of the constructive work of the Soviet people.

The workers and peasants of Russia, who were the first in the world to embark on socialist construction, had to acquire experience in the process of this construction. "Every month of such work and such experience", Lenin said, "is worth ten, if not twenty, years of our history."[1]

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Soldiers' and Red Army Deputies, July 4-10, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 515.

During the discussion of the reports of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries continued to oppose the Brest Peace Treaty, the food dictatorship proclaimed by Soviet power, and the establishment of Poor Peasants' Committees. Defending the kulaks, they insisted on the liquidation of the food dictatorship and the disbandment of Poor Peasants' Committees.

By a majority vote the Congress fully approved the foreign and home policies pursued by the Soviet Government. A resolution stated that the Congress particularly approved the measures taken in the field of food supply and organisation of the rural poor. Thus, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries suffered a complete fiasco at the Congress.

The work of the Fifth Congress of Soviets was interrupted by mutiny instigated by the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries.

In the afternoon on July 6, 1918, two Left Socialist-Revolutionaries sneaked into the German embassy with forged documents and murdered the German Ambassador Mirbach, intending in this way to provoke a war with Germany. Mirbach's murder was a signal for the revolt. The mutineers occupied the central telegraph and sent several telegrams to different places, alleging that power was in the hands of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The Soviet Government took resolute measures to suppress the mutiny. In all districts of Moscow workers, led by Communists, formed detachments to put down the revolt.

At 4 p.m. on July 7, the Soviet Government issued a special communique informing the people of Moscow about the liquidation of the counter-revolutionary revolt of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. This was soon followed by the defeat of the anti-Soviet revolt organised by the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Muravyov, who was in command of the Soviet troops in the Volga area.

By the murder of Mirbach the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries hoped to involve the Soviet Republic in a war with Germany. However, the Soviet Government succeeded in settling the conflict peacefully.

On July 9, the Fifth Congress of Soviets resumed its work but without the participation of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The Congress approved measures taken by the Government to crush the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries' adventure and demanded the expulsion of those Left Socialist-Revolutionaries who supported the counter-revolutionary revolt from all local government bodies.

On July 10, the last day of the Congress' work, it approved a decree of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on the socialist Red Army and adopted the first Soviet Constitution—the Constitution of the RSFSR.

On the question of the Red Army the Congress of Soviets emphasised the need for creating a centralised, disciplined, well-trained and equipped Red Army, formed on the basis of universal military service and capable of defending the Soviet country.

The Constitution or fundamental law of the Russian Socialist Republic was adopted with great enthusiasm by the delegates.

The first Soviet Constitution gave the force of law to the principles of Soviet power evolved by the revolutionary creativity of the masses. It endorsed the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviets and recorded the first results of the construction of a new social system: the state ownership of land, nationalisation of factories, banks, the railway and water transport, the monopoly of foreign trade and the socialist principle of labour organisation in accordance with the formula: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." The Constitution also formalised the equality of nationalities, and the voluntary association and co-operation of peoples on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

The Constitution of 1918 was intended for the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. It mapped out a general prospect for the subsequent development of the Land of Soviets along the road to socialism. In this respect the first Constitution was programmatic by nature.

The Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic outlined the basic principles of the Soviet state system: the gradual drawing of all working people into the administration of the state; the indissoluble link between the government apparatus and the people; the granting of material guarantees to the working people, ensuring the exercise of truly democratic rights and freedoms. The Constitution recorded that

the Soviet state apparatus was based on the principle of democratic centralism. The Soviet state was structured as a federation of autonomous republics and regions formed on the national-territorial principle and with distinctive customs and ethnic backgrounds. The first Constitution of the RSFSR became a model for constitutions of all fraternal Soviet republics.

It also exerted an enormous revolutionising influence on the working class of the whole world.

In this way the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets summed up the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution and outlined prospects for further development of the Soviet state along the road to socialism.

The World-Historic Significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, the era of the downfall of capitalism and the triumph of socialism and communism.

The greatest significance of the October Revolution consists in that for the first time in history it divested all exploiters of power and established the proletariat as the ruling class. The Great October Socialist Revolution created a new type of state—the Soviet socialist state, and a new type of democracy—democracy for the working people. The Revolution rallied the working people around their leaders—the proletariat and its Party, forming an unbreakable alliance between the workers and the toiling peasantry, which became the social foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The October Revolution took the means of production away from the landowners and capitalists and turned them into public property, a property belonging to all working people, counterposing in this way socialist ownership to bourgeois ownership. It undermined the economic foundation of the system of exploitation and social injustice and initiated the liquidation of exploitation of man by man.

The victory of the October Revolution radically changed Russia's international and internal situation. It wrested the country

from the grip of the imperialist war, saved it from a national catastrophe, from dismemberment and enslavement by imperialist vultures.

The Great October Socialist Revolution delivered all oppressed peoples of Russia from the national-colonial yoke and rallied the workers and peasants of all nationalities under the banner of proletarian internationalism.

Accomplished under the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism, the October Revolution dealt a decisive blow at bourgeois ideology and at the ideology of revisionism and opportunism within the working-class movement.

The October Revolution demonstrated that the proletariat is not only capable of destroying the foundations of the exploitation inherent in the old bourgeois system, but also of creating a new, socialist society. It elevated the broadest masses of people to the role of conscious creators of history.

One of the greatest results of the victory of the October Revolution was that it turned the Bolshevik Party into the ruling party, into the guiding and organising force of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That meant that the programme of the Communist Party began to be implemented in domestic and foreign policies of the state. The Party's prestige and its role as the leading force of the working class, as the leader and organiser of the working masses in the socialist transformation of society, grew immeasurably.

The historic significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution consists in that it established the Russian proletariat as the acknowledged vanguard of the oppressed and exploited masses of the world in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, for a socialist transformation of society. "We are entitled to be proud," Lenin wrote, "and to consider ourselves fortunate that it has come to our lot to be the first to fell in one part of the globe that wild beast, capitalism, which has drenched the earth in blood..."[1]

The greatest international significance of the October Revolution lies in that it broke the front of world imperialism, overthrew

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Prophetic Words", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 499.

the bourgeoisie in one of the biggest capitalist countries and thereby ushered in an epoch of proletarian revolution.

The October Revolution dealt a blow at imperialism shattering its domination in the colonial and dependent countries. It initiated the epoch of anti-colonial revolutions and of the disintegration of the colonial system.

The First World War and, in particular, the triumph of the October Revolution and Russia's breaking away from the capitalist system brought about a general crisis of capitalism.

A fact of incstimable importance is that for the first time there appeared a state which proclaimed the great slogan of peace and set out to implement new principles in relations hetween peoples and countries.

Having split the world into two opposing systems, the October Revolution created a socialist system. It paved the way for mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and initiated the history of the socialist formation.

The Great October Socialist Revolution gave practical affirmation to the correctness of the fundamental propositions of scientific communism and laid a common road for all peoples of the world, a road leading from capitalism to socialism. For all the distinctive features of the October Revolution which result from Russia's historical conditions, its basic laws and features are international in essence.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CIVIL WAR AND IMPERIALIST MILITARY INTERVENTION

1. THE INTENSIFICATION OF INTERNAL COUNTER-REVOLUTION. THE ENTENTE INVASION OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC

The Increasing Struggle of the Overthrown Exploiter Classes Against Soviet Power

Lenin said that long, stubborn and desperate resistance by the exploiters was the rule in any social revolution. The degree of resistance depended on the correlation of class forces and on the extent to which the social and political transformations brought about by the revolution were radical and all-embracing. Naturally, the socialist revolution, which aimed not to replace one class of exploiters with another, but to do away with exploitation once and for all, aroused bitter resistance.

The landlords and the capitalists, the counter-revolutionary civil servants and the officer class, the kulaks and the Cossack upper crust, the clergy and the feudals could not reconcile themselves with the loss of their political power, economic might and social privileges. Though defeated in the October Revolution, they had not laid down their weapons, but on the contrary were maintaining increasingly stubborn resistance against the worker and peasant state. This resistance ultimately assumed the most acute form of the class struggle—civil war.

In addition to economic sabotage the counter-revolutionaries now began an armed struggle against Soviet power.

During the first six months of 1918 the counter-revolutionary forces with the support of foreign imperialists set up numerous

underground organisations. They organised conspiracies and rebellions, acts of subversion and terrorism, and conducted a campaign of anti-Soviet propaganda. They also formed their own military forces. Thus, the so-called Volunteer Army of the tsarist generals, Alexeyev, Kornilov and Denikin, which formed originally on the Don and later moved into the Kuban area, was reinforced by counter-revolutionary officers who came to the south from all over the country. Intensive recruitment was carried out by the White Cossack armies on the Don, on the Kuban, in the Southern Urals and in Siberia, while the officers, civil servants, bourgeoisie and landowners, who had fled to the border regions, joined up with the local bourgeois nationalists and tried to turn these regions into counter-revolutionary strongholds in their struggle against Soviet power.

The workers and peasants could have destroyed the purely internal counter-revolution fairly quickly. But as a result of international imperialist intervention against the Soviet Republic, this struggle became a long and bitter civil war. In 1919 Lenin noted that "world imperialism ... in reality brought about the Civil War in our country and is responsible for protracting it..."[1]

The Beginning of Military Intervention

The victory of the working class in Russia caused serious alarm among imperialists all over the world. The war they unleashed against the Russian revolution was dictated by class interests and the desire to destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore the power of the bourgeoisie and landowners. A feeling of class solidarity with the overthrown Russian exploiters and hatred of the masses who were now in control of the state was combined among ruling circles in the capitalist countries with the desire to protect their own interests. Their greatest fear was that the workers and soldiers in the West might follow the example of Russia and rise up against their own exploiters. Crushing the revolution in Russia meant striking a heavy blow against the world

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Eighth All-Russia Conference of the R.C.P.(B.), December 2-4, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 171.

revolutionary movement, depriving it of a base for support, preventing the workers of the world from following an inspiring example and demonstrating the invincibility of the capitalist system. The hatred of the international bourgeoisie of the Soviet Republic was all the greater for the fact that the October Revolution saved Russia as an independent and sovereign state from the attempts of foreign imperialism to turn it into a colony and deprived the Western bankers and entrepreneurs of their factories, concessions and investments in Russia.

One of the causes of intervention by the Entente powers was Soviet Russia's withdrawal from the war and her resolute policy of peace. They realised that Russia's example intensified the thirst for peace among the peoples of the warring countries. Furthermore, they had lost the support of the Russian army, which had previously been fighting on their side.

In late November 1917 an agreement was reached by the governments of the Entente powers meeting in Paris to fight against the Russian revolution. On December 23, 1917 a special treaty was signed between Britain and France, according to the terms of which the two powers agreed to military intervention against Soviet Russia. The treaty also provided for the subsequent division of the country with the Baltic area, the Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Don area, the Crimea, Central Asia, Bessarabia and other territories being annexed and made into imperialist colonies. The Caucasus, the Kuban and the Don were to form the British zone, while the Ukraine, Bessarabia and the Crimea were to be under French control. It was also agreed that the Soviet Far East and Siberia would largely come within the US and Japanese sphere of influence.

Thus, in beginning their war of intervention the imperialists were out to destroy the world's first worker and peasant state and at the same time fulfil their aggressive plans for enslaving the peoples of Russia.

The intervention began in December 1917 when the boyar Romania supported by the imperialists occupied Bessarabia in violation of international law and the relevant agreements. By the end of that month British, American and Japanese warships were arriving in Soviet North and Far East ports. The imperialists of the Entente powers tried to conceal their aggressive plans

by claiming that the warships in the Soviet ports were there to defend their "ally" against a German invasion.

On March 9, 1918 the first unit of interventionists landed on Russian soil: two hundred British soldiers disembarked in Murmansk from the cruiser, HMS *Glory*, to be soon followed by large contingents of British troops and US infantry. In early August 1918 the interventionists were in possession of Arkhangelsk through a counter-revolutionary coup.

Soon after the beginning of open intervention in the North, the imperialists began the occupation of the Soviet Far East. On April 5, 1918 the first Japanese and British landings were made in Vladivostok. A few weeks later US troops also arrived in the city.

In late May 1918, US, British and French imperialists organised the mutiny of a Czechoslovak corps in the Central Volga and Siberia. This corps consisted of Czechs and Slovaks who had fought in the Austrian army and had been taken prisoner during the First World War by the Russians. At the time they were on their way with the permission of the Soviet Government across Siberia and the Far East to Europe. These 50,000 well-armed troops who were stretched all along the main railway line from Penza and Syzran in the west to Irkutsk and Vladivostok in the east were an opportunity too good to miss for the imperialists in their struggle against the Soviet Republic. As a result they took several Soviet cities and overthrew the Soviet power that had been set up there.

Many Czechs and Slovaks knew all about the anti-Soviet machinations of their bourgeois leaders Masaryk and Beneš. Thousands of them, who were living in Russia, opposed their leaders and expressed their solidarity with the Soviet people and many of the soldiers in the Czechoslovak corps deserted to the Red Army. The Czechoslovak communist group in Russia did a considerable amount of work among the soldiers, explaining the political situation and printing papers, leaflets and other literature that exposed imperialist manoeuvres. One of these workers was the Czech Jaroslav Hašek, later to be famous as a writer and satirist, who was most vociferous in his condemnation of the rebels. Hašek joined the Communist Party and worked in the Political department of the 5th Red Army.

The next objective of imperialist intervention was Transcaucasia. In August 1918 British troops occupied Baku and incursions were made into Soviet Central Asia. In the same month British forces from Iran took the Transcaspian Region.

Many countries sent contingents to join the anti-Soviet interventionists. But it was the leading Western capitalist powers, the United States, Britain, France and Japan that played the major role, and the heads of these countries—President Wilson, Premier Clemenceau, Prime Minister Lloyd-George and War Minister Churchill—were the immediate organisers of the intervention.

Wherever they established themselves on Soviet territory, the interventionists subjected the civilian population to violence and terror through the regimes they set up. In Siberia more than 80,000 were incarcerated in prisons and concentration camps by the interventionists and White Guards. During the year in which Arkhangelsk was under foreign occupation some 38,000 people were arrested, and of these 8,000 were shot. The brutal massacre of 26 Baku Commissars who fought heroically for communism by the British interventionists and Socialist-Revolutionaries was an atrocity which the Soviet people will never forget.

Meanwhile the German imperialists had taken the Ukraine, Byelorussia, part of the Transcaucasus, the Baltic area and the Crimea. Thus, intervention by the Entente powers was combined with the German occupation of vast areas of Russia.

As a result of the German seizure of the Black Sea ports the Soviet Government was forced to order the scuttling of the Russian Black Sea Fleet. Had they not done this the ships would have been captured by the German imperialists. On June 18, 1918 the revolutionary sailors, having raised the signal: "Death before Surrender" scuttled most of the Black Sea Fleet at Novorossiisk.

The German invaders plundered the occupied territories of their raw materials, food and other useful commodities. In the occupied territories the old bourgeois landowning system was restored. The land was taken away from the peasants and given back to the landowners and the enterprises returned to the capitalists. The workers and peasants lost all their newly

won rights and any manifestation of discontent was met with harsh reprisals.

In the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia puppet governments were set up by the German occupying forces. These were formed from either Russian White Guards or bourgeois nationalists. In late April 1918 the Germans dissolved the Ukrainian Central Rada which they did not need any longer and replaced it with the puppet government of Skoropadsky, a tsarist general, who was proclaimed Hetman of the Ukraine.

Soviet Russia Surrounded by Enemies

Encouraged by support from the interventionists the forces of internal counter-revolution stepped up their struggle against Soviet power. In mid-1918 the White Guard Volunteer Army occupied a large part of the Northern Caucasus. Generals Krasnov and Mamontov roused the Cossacks, took the Don region and launched an offensive against Tsaritsyn (now Volgograd) and Voronezh. The mutiny of the Czechoslovak corps gave considerable encouragement to the White Guard elements on the Volga, in the Urals and in Siberia. By summer 1918 they had taken the whole of Siberia and a number of towns on the Volga including Samara, Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk) and Kazan. In Kazan the White Guards seized more than 600 million roubles worth of the country's gold reserves, which had previously been brought here for safe keeping.

In July 1918 the White Cossack forces of Ataman Dutov stepped up their operations and captured Orenburg, leaving Soviet Turkestan completely cut off from the centre of the country.

At the same time a fierce struggle was being fought in the Urals around the city of Ekaterinburg (now Sverdlovsk). Throughout the month of July the battle raged, for the interventionists and White Guards knew that the former Tsar Nicholas II was held there in captivity. They were hoping to free the former monarch so as to unite the counter-revolutionary forces behind him. But their plans were frustrated. A week before the White Guards seized Ekaterinburg the ex-tsar was shot on the orders of the Urals Regional Soviet.

In Arkhangelsk, Samara, Omsk, the Transcaspian Region and other places that fell to the interventionists and White Guards counter-revolutionary governments were set up with the participation of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. Initially these governments made extensive use of democratic phraseology. But in fact they took harsh reprisals against the workers and peasants and did everything they could to accommodate capitalists, landowners and foreign imperialists. Thus they prepared the ground for open military dictatorship.

By mid-1918 the short "breathing space" that had been gained by the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty had finished. The Entente interventionists and the forces of the internal counter-revolution were now operating on an extensive scale. Soviet Russia was plunged into war against both of them.

The Civil War now became the most important single issue facing the revolution. Everything now depended on whether Soviet power was strong enough to repel its enemies and uphold the gains of the revolution.

No single country had ever suffered such massive, concentrated attacks from both internal and foreign enemies as those which Soviet Russia faced in mid-1918. The young Soviet Republic was forced to fight on all fronts and controlled only a comparatively small territory in Central Russia.

Furthermore kulak rebellions broke out all over the country and a considerable section of the middle peasants in the Volga regions and Siberia showed serious wavering often supporting the Socialist-Revolutionaries or the kulaks.

It was a period of severe trial for the Soviet state. "To us has fallen the supreme honour and the supreme difficulty of being the first socialist detachment in the fight against world imperialism,"[1] said Lenin in July 1918. In paving the way to the future of all mankind the workers and peasants of Russia bore the full brunt of international imperialist pressure.

As a result of foreign military intervention Soviet Russia was deprived of its most important sources of food, raw materials and energy. The industrial centres of Russia were left without

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Speech Delivered at a Public Meeting in Lefortovo District, July 19, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 543.

the bread and meat from the Ukraine, Siberia and the Volga. The workers of Moscow, Petrograd and other cities went hungry. The Soviet Republic lost its coalfields in the Donets basin, its mines at Krivoi Rog, its oil fields at Baku and its cotton fields in Turkestan. The lack of raw materials and fuel meant that factories had to be closed. By late summer 1918 some 40 per cent of industrial enterprises were idle.

Meanwhile, imperialist agents infiltrated into the rear, carried out subversion, formed conspiracies, organised rebellions and committed acts of murder. They were often controlled by official diplomatic representatives of the Entente powers such as the US Ambassador David Francis, the French Ambassador Joseph Noulens, the US Consul-General in Moscow Dewitt Poole and the British Diplomatic Representative Robert Lockhart.

In July 1918 there were counter-revolutionary uprisings in Moscow, Yaroslavl, Rybinsk and a number of other towns. On August 30, 1918 the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries made an assassination attempt on the life of the leader of the proletarian revolution V. I. Lenin. As a result of the attempt Lenin was badly wounded by two poisonous bullets. And on the very same day in Petrograd M. S. Uritsky, Chairman of the Petrograd Cheka was murdered.

Under these difficult conditions the Soviet people led by the Communist Party rose to struggle against both the foreign interventionist forces and the rebellious elements among the former exploiter classes.

"Victory or Death!" was the slogan under which the Soviet people waged this war. In early September 1918 the All-Russia Central Executive Committee declared the Soviet Republic to be under a state of siege. The Central Executive Committee resolution, dated September 2 stated: "All the power and resources of the Socialist Republic are at the ready for the sacred task of conducting an armed struggle against the enemy."

"No revolution is worth anything unless it can defend itself. . ."[1] said Lenin. The Russian revolution was able to defend

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Report at a Joint Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet, Factory Committees and Trade Unions, October 22, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, 1974, p. 124.

itself and to repel the attacks of its enemies. But this called for enormous efforts, particularly in the creation of the Red Army, which was to be built in the heat of battle and in the briefest possible time.

The Soviet people armed their revolution and formed their own Red Army to counter their enemy and defend their socialist motherland. The Red Army was based on the class principle, it was an army of workers and peasants. Its framework was formed from the Russian proletariat in the industrial centres and it was from their ranks that many thousands of talented and bold commanders were to come. Some of the finest of these were men like Antonov-Ovseyenko, Blyukher, Budyonny, Chapayev, Dybenko, Fedko, Frunze, Gorodovikov, Kotovsky, Lazo, Parkhomenko, Shchors, Voroshilov, Vostretsov and Yakir, who were all tempered in the fires of revolutionary war.

But in building up its new officer corps from workers and peasants the Soviet Government also called upon the military specialists of the old regime to join the Red Army, for without their help it would have been impossible to create a modern regular army. These former officers, now under the control of the Soviet state, passed on their knowledge and experience to the workers and peasants. Many of these, as it happened, betrayed the Soviet Republic and went over to the enemy. But the most progressive among them served the Soviet state selflessly and with honour. It was from the ranks of these military specialists that some of the most outstanding of the Red Army's commanders came. These were men like S. S. Kamenev, Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army, B. M. Shaposhnikov, who during the Civil War was in charge of the Operations Department of the Field Staff and later became Chief of the General Staff; A. I. Yegorov, A. A. Samoilo, M. N. Tukhachevsky and V. I. Shorin all of whom commanded fronts and prominent military specialists like V. M. Altfater, D. M. Karbyshev, P. P. Lebedev, A. P. Nikolayev and A. V. Stankevich.

The command of all the fronts and military units was centralised and on September 2, 1918 the Republic's Military Revolutionary Council was formed.

Communists were among the first to join the Red Army and they were always in the front ranks setting an example of cour-

age and selfless devotion to the cause of socialist revolution to all those who were fighting for their Soviet motherland. A leaflet addressed to a Communist soldier on his way to the front, which was put out by one of the political departments of the army, contained the following words: "Being a Communist imposes many duties, but gives only one privilege—the privilege of being first to fight for the revolution." Communists waged a constant struggle against indiscipline and lack of organisation with the result that the Red Army became a strictly disciplined, regular army. The finest Communists who had been tried and tested in revolutionary struggle were appointed military commissars. These Communist commissars played an immense role in strengthening the army, increasing its battle-worthiness and improving the political education of its soldiers. One important task of the commissars was supervising the work of the military specialists who had come from the old tsarist army.

During the summer and autumn of 1918 more than 800,000 joined the Red Army.

Of considerable importance in strengthening the defence capabilities of the Soviet Republic was the introduction of universal military training. A decree of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee dated April 22, 1918 made it obligatory for all citizens of the Republic from 18 to 40 to undertake a course of military training. This also played an important part in providing new reinforcements for the Red Army.

The Soviet state strengthened its rear, mercilessly put down all counter-revolutionary rebellions and dealt with the foreign agents, terrorists, subversives and saboteurs as they deserved.

The white terror which was practised against the working people by the enemies of the revolution was answered with the red terror of the proletariat. With the power of all the working people behind it the Cheka kept a watchful eye on counter-revolutionaries nipping all their designs swiftly in the bud.

The working people, who under the banner of the Communist Party went to the defence of the gains of the October Revolution, showed everywhere, at the front and in the rear, great heroism, courage and self-sacrifice. The working class of Russia showed that they could defend their revolution and lead the masses of the working peasantry to fight for their gains.

It was in the hard-fought battles of summer and autumn 1918 that the newly-formed Red Army won its first victories.

That whole summer a fierce struggle was fought in the Central Volga region from where White Czech and White Guard detachments were trying to break through to the central regions of the country. The battle here became of decisive importance.

The Soviet Government formed an Eastern front, in command of which were three tried and tested Bolshevik professional revolutionaries, S. I. Gusev, V. V. Kuibyshev and the well-known scholar and astronomer, P. K. Sternberg. It was here that the famous Civil War hero V. I. Chapayev won renown in fighting against the White Czechs and Cossack counter-revolutionaries.

Trained and disciplined regiments and divisions were gradually formed and these gained experience and knowledge of the latest military techniques directly on the battlefield.

In autumn 1918 the Red Army on the Eastern Front broke through enemy resistance and liberated Kazan, one of the most important towns on the Volga. This was soon followed by the liberation of Simbirsk. A letter addressed to Lenin from the soldiers of the 1st Army said: "Dear Vladimir Ilyich. The recapture of your native city is for one of the wounds inflicted on you. For the other we will liberate Samara." This promise was honourably fulfilled. On October 7, 1918 Red Army units entered Samara.

The fighting on the Southern Front was of great importance during the summer and particularly the autumn of 1918. Battles took place over the Don, the Lower Volga and the Northern Caucasus. Here Soviet troops engaged counter-revolutionary forces from the Don and the Kuban as well as General Denikin's Volunteer Army and bourgeois nationalist detachments from the North Caucasus.

Particularly fierce fighting went on around Tsaritsyn on the Southern Front with the White Guards approaching the city twice (in August-September and in October 1918). But the defenders of Tsaritsyn showed such stubborn resistance that the White Guards were thrown back across the Don despite their numerical superiority.

By autumn 1918 the interventionist and White Guard advance in the North had been halted.

The working people fighting for the revolution displayed innumerable examples of mass heroism throughout these difficult months. One such example was the defence of Grozny, a major industrial centre in the North Caucasus. In summer 1918 the city was surrounded by White Cossacks, who were far superior numerically to the defenders of the city. But Grozny did not surrender. All the workers capable of bearing arms went to the city's defence. Even old men, women and children took part. Bitter fighting took place for every street, every house. For its heroic struggle against the White Guard counter-revolutionaries Grozny, like Tsaritsyn, was awarded the Order of the Red Banner.

Liberation of the Soviet Territories Occupied by Germany. The Intensification of Intervention

By late 1918 the international position of the Soviet state had changed significantly with the end of the First World War. Germany and her allies suffered complete defeat and on November 11 an armistice was signed by Germany and the Entente in the Bois de Compiègne.

Soon afterwards revolutions broke out in Germany and Austria-Hungary and these brought about an end to the rule of the Hohenzollerns and the Habsburgs.

These developments had an important effect on the position of Soviet Russia. The influence of the revolutions spread to other European countries and this in turn helped to strengthen Soviet Russia's international position. Thus the revolutionary movement in Europe acted as a powerful international ally to the Soviet state.

Soviet Russia was now able to annul the extortionate terms of the Brest Treaty. On November 13, 1918 a special resolution of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee signed by Lenin and Sverdlov declared the Brest Treaty completely null and void.

History has fully borne out the wisdom and perspicacity of Lenin in realising that the Brest Treaty was bound inevitably

to be annulled. It had lasted little more than eight months, but the breathing spell it granted the Soviet state was essential to building up the latter's defences against imperialist intervention.

From autumn 1918 the liberation of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, the Ukraine and Transcaucasia from German imperialism began. From the very beginning of the German occupation of these areas a patriotic war of liberation was launched by the workers and peasants against the foreign invaders and their collaborators. Popular uprisings against the occupying forces were frequent and there were numerous partisan detachments operating. This underground struggle in the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic area was led by the Communists.

The Communists in the occupied zones continued to work and strengthen their organisations despite the most difficult conditions. In July 1918 the First Congress of the Bolshevik Party of the Ukraine was held in Moscow. This was followed a little later by the Second Congress in October. In August the First Conference of Byelorussian and Lithuanian Communist Organisations took place in Smolensk.

In September 1918 a central bureau of the communist organisations in the German occupied zones was formed. Under the control of this bureau underground communist organisations and partisan units were set up in the enemy's rear.

With the abrogation of the Brest Treaty the liberation struggle in the occupied zones received direct and all-round support from Soviet Russia. The working people rose against their exploiters, drove out the German occupationists and with the help of the Russian proletariat established Soviet power.

At the same time the German soldiers, who were coming more and more under the influence of revolutionary ideas, refused to obey their officers and began fraternising with the Red Army men and the workers.

In late November 1918 the Estonian Soviet Republic (the Estland Labour Commune) was formed and in December Soviet power was proclaimed in Latvia and Lithuania. Soviet Russia recognised the independence of the Baltic Soviet Republics. On January 1, 1919 a Provisional Soviet Government was formed in Byelorussia. These historical acts laid the foundations of So-

viet statehood for the peoples of the Baltic Republics and Byelorussia.

Meanwhile the Entente imperialists were bending every effort to prevent the establishment of Soviet power in the Ukraine. To this end they gambled heavily on the bourgeois nationalists who were grouped around Petlyura. In contrast to the open counter-revolutionary policies of Skoropadsky, Petlyura and his followers made extensive use of revolutionary phraseology in an attempt to gain control of the peasantry. After the defeat of Germany in November 1918 Petlyura drove out Hetman Skoropadsky and set up the so-called Directory which was headed by himself and Vinnichenko. The Directory signed an agreement with France, according to which the Ukraine was to become a French protectorate. But this met with no support from the Ukrainian people and the workers and peasants rose in armed struggle against Petlyura with the aid of the Russian proletariat.

At the end of November the Provisional Ukrainian Soviet Government was formed. Together with the Ukrainian workers and peasants who had risen in insurrection Soviet troops overthrew Petlyura and his entourage and liberated the towns and villages of the Ukraine. In February 1919 Ukrainian Soviet forces liberated Kiev and the Red Banner of the Soviets once more flew over the greater part of the Ukraine.

With the defeat of Germany the Entente powers, now the dominant force in the capitalist world, were able to step up their anti-Soviet intervention. The Paris Conference which they called to work out a peace treaty with Germany developed into the centre of the campaign against the Soviet Republic. The interventionist blockade of Russia intensified making it virtually impossible for essential foodstuffs and industrial goods to be imported into Soviet Russia.

Bourgeois historians claim that the Entente troops were sent to Russia so as to continue the war against Germany. But in fact the defeat of Germany was followed by a marked expansion of the Entente's intervention.

In November 1918 Anglo-French warships entered the Black Sea at the head of a convoy of troop transports, which stretched across the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Under the protection of these warships French and Greek troops landed in Odessa and

occupied the city. They also took Sevastopol and a number of other Black Sea towns and advanced into the Caucasus capturing Baku, Tbilisi and Batumi. In the main the French interventionists invaded the Ukraine, while the British forces advanced through the Caucasus. At the same time the attacks of the interventionists in the North and the Far East were stepped up.

As they advanced they robbed and plundered the wealth of Russia. One after another American, British and Japanese ships left Russian harbours loaded with timber, furs, flax, leather, grain and other valuables.

The Entente governments took steps to strengthen and consolidate the counter-revolutionary forces. The Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary puppet governments were replaced with outright military dictatorships, which were more able to carry out the wishes of the national and international bourgeoisie.

On November 18, 1918 the former tsarist admiral, Kolchak, carried out a successful coup in Omsk, broke up the Cadet and Socialist-Revolutionary Directory and established a military dictatorship. Soon afterwards Kolchak was proclaimed "Supreme Ruler" of Russia. Denikin became his deputy in the South. In the North, where there was a so-called "democratic government" at Arkhangelsk headed by the Socialist-Revolutionary Chaikovsky, General Miller took the post of governor-general and supreme commander of the armed forces and thereby became a virtual dictator.

Towards the end of 1918 Kolchak's forces launched a major offensive against the northern section of the Eastern Front. They hoped to join up with the interventionists that were attacking from the north.

But the White Guard forces were unsuccessful. Acting on a directive of the Party Central Committee troops of the Eastern Front launched a counter-offensive against Kolchak and liberated Ufa.

At the same time the Soviet High Command took a number of steps to strengthen the Northern Front, which was engaged against US and British interventionists.

Towards the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919 fighting took place on a vast scale on the Southern Front. The flight of the German occupationists made it possible to strike a crushing

blow against their henchman, General Krasnov, who had established himself in the Don region.

Throughout January 1919 heavy fighting took place near Tsaritsyn and on the Don. After a number of fierce battles Krasnov was beaten and in February 1919 the Red Army liberated the Don.

The Red Army had fought heroically with the White Guards in the Northern Caucasus, but because of the superiority of Denikin's Volunteer Army (which was receiving considerable assistance from the Entente) they were forced to retreat to Astrakhan.

The occupation of the Northern Caucasus by the Volunteer Army accelerated the consolidation of counter-revolutionary forces in the South. In January 1919 together with White Cossack forces from the Don and the Kuban the Volunteer Army formed the "Armed Forces of Southern Russia" under the command of Denikin.

During this period the imperialists had been counting on organising a massive offensive into the heart of the country from the territory they occupied on the Black Sea coast. By February 1919 there were 130,000 interventionist troops in the South, but their plans for establishing the Ukrainian bridgehead came to nothing. Soviet troops and partisans were able to hold up further northward advances by the interventionists and inflict upon them a number of defeats.

Meanwhile revolutionary agitation was going on among the interventionist forces themselves. This heroic work was carried out by the underground Bolshevik organisations. The Odessa Regional Party Committee, which was headed by I. F. Smirnov (known in the underground as Nikolai Lastochkin) set up a so-called Foreign Collegium to carry out agitational work among the French and other foreign soldiers. Many of these communist underground workers, including I. F. Smirnov and Jeanne Labourbe were arrested and shot. But the work of the underground Bolshevik organisation did not cease. A mutiny broke out in the French fleet and the red flag was hoisted on two ships *Jean Bart* and *France*.

As a result of the defeats they had suffered in combat with the Red Army and of the growth of the revolutionary move-

ment among the soldiers, the interventionists left the Ukraine and the Crimea in April 1919 and Soviet power was re-established there.

As they repelled the imperialist attacks the Soviet Government made frequent offers of peace to the bourgeois states. The Sixth All-Russia Congress of Soviets (November 6, 1918) proposed to the Entente powers that peace talks be held. On December 24 the Soviet Government sent a peace proposal to US President Wilson. Further peace proposals were sent on January 12 and 17, 1919.

But the imperialist governments made no reply and intervention continued. However, as a result of the rapidly growing anti-intervention movement among the workers, they tried to blunt the vigilance of the international proletariat by presenting themselves as peacemakers. A plan was put foward in February 1919 for a conference to be held on the Princes Islands in the Sea of Marmora between representatives of the Soviet Government and of the White Guard groups still operating in Russia. The imperialists hoped that the Soviet Government would refuse to participate in the conference and thus they would be able to portray Soviet Russia as the opponent of peace. At the same time they wanted to hold up the Soviet offensive which was enjoying success on all fronts.

But the imperialist plans were frustrated by Soviet diplomacy. In the interests of peace the Soviet Government agreed to participate at the conference and outlined a concrete programme for the talks. It even went so far as to declare its readiness to make certain concessions. The intention of the Soviet state here was to repeat the successful tactics it had used at the time of the signing of the Brest Treaty, i.e., to make concessions for the sake of peace and to use the breathing spell gained thereby to create favourable conditions for peaceful construction.

The Soviet Government's agreement to participate in the conference caused embarrassment and dismay among the imperialists, who had no desire whatsoever for peace who were furthermore greatly perturbed at the prospect. Under various pretexts they cancelled the conference and intensified their intervention.

The Growth of the Revolutionary Movement in the Capitalist Countries. The Formation of the Comintern

The year 1918 saw an enormous revolutionary upsurge in the capitalist countries, due both to the sharp intensification of the class struggle and to the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In Germany and various parts of Austria-Hungary Soviets sprang up. In October-November 1918 the bits and pieces that had once made up the Austro-Hungarian empire finally fell apart and on its ruins the national bourgeois states of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia were formed.

The victory of the October Revolution made it possible for Poland to exist as an independent state. By a special decree of August 29, 1918 the Soviet Government renounced all treaties relating to the division of Poland and recognised the Polish people's inalienable right to sovereignty and national unification. This process was accelerated by the defeat of Germany and Austria-Hungary. By the autumn of 1918 the Polish state was formed under the control of a bourgeois-landowning clique headed by Josef Pilsudski.

Following the November revolution in Germany in 1918 Soviet republics were formed in Hungary and Bavaria[1] in the spring of 1919. Workers all over the world were now becoming rapidly revolutionised. A wave of political strikes swept through the capitalist countries and everywhere there were armed conflicts between the workers and the forces of reaction. At the same time the national liberation struggle of the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries spread with unprecedented force.

The Soviet people responded warmly to the development of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist states and in the colonial and dependent countries, and did everything to help their brothers abroad in their struggle for liberation.

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[1] Soviet power was established in Hungary on March 21, 1919. Immediately the imperialist Entente began open intervention against Soviet Hungary. With the aid of Hungarin counter-revolutionaries and Right Social-Democrats they put down the revolution and on August 1, 1919, the Soviet Republic in Hungary, which had lasted 133 dyas, fell.

The Soviet Republic in Bavaria lasted from April 7 to May 1, 1919.

It was with great enthusiasm that the Soviet people received the news in March 1919 that Soviet power had been established in Hungary. The Eighth Party Congress sent warm greetings to the workers of Hungary. Workers in Moscow, Petrograd and other towns collected the proceeds of voluntary unpaid Saturday and Sunday work in aid of their Hungarian comrades. But Soviet Russia, surrounded as she was on all sides by enemies, could not give more effective help to the Hungarian proletariat in their struggle against internal counter-revolution and foreign imperialism.

As the revolutionary movement grew in strength the right-wing leaders of the social democratic parties of the Second International, who during the First World War, had shown themselves to be ideologically bankrupt, now increasingly began to betray the cause of the working class.

In Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland and other countries new Communist parties were formed and it thus became possible to set up the Third Communist International. This took place in Moscow at the First Congress of the Communist Parties. The First (Constituent) Comintern Congress, which lasted from March 4 to March 6, 1919 was presided over by Lenin, the leader of the world proletariat.

For the first time in history the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat were able to meet in a country where the power was already in the hands of the working class. The working people of the young Soviet Republic warmly welcomed the creation of the Comintern and demonstrated their devotion and loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity—a powerful weapon for the proletariat of all countries.

2. THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL ALLIANCE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE PEASANTRY

Consolidating Soviet Power in the Countryside

The development of the socialist revolution in the countryside brought about a considerable increase in the activity of the peasant masses.

In autumn 1918 Lenin wrote that as the socialist revolution developed in the countryside "... the *real* circle of supporters of Bolshevism was *expanding enormously*, because scores and scores of millions of the village poor were freeing themselves from the tutelage and influence of the kulaks and village bourgeoisie and were awakening to *independent* political life".[1]

This found its clear expression in the activities of the Poor Peasants' Committees, which from October 1918 began to function in almost every district and village. By the end of 1918 the village Communists and Bolshevik sympathisers were at the head of almost all these committees. Tens of thousands of peasant activists joined the Communist Party and under their leadership the Poor Peasants' Committees inflicted a severe blow against the kulaks.

Throughout 1918 an extensive redistribution among the poor peasantry of confiscated lands, draught animals and farm stock took place in the countryside. This resulted in important social and economic changes. The majority of the former poor peasants, having received land, animals and equipment, raised to the level of middle peasants. These new middle peasants who had received their land and their stock from the Soviet Government realised the real importance of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry and of the help and guidance of the working class. The overall result of these transformations was that the middle peasants now comprised approximately 60 per cent of the total peasant population, and constituted the largest stratum among the peasantry.

As time went by the working peasantry became more actively involved in the struggle for Soviet power. The middle peasants began to take a clear stand on the side of Soviet power. This was in large part due to the fact that the middle peasants in those areas that had been occupied by the enemy saw for themselves that a White Guard and interventionist victory meant the return of their lands to the landowners and the kulaks and the establishment of a reign of terror and violence against the workers and peasants.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 303.

Thus, the second half of 1918 was marked by a considerable strengthening of Soviet power in the villages, a weakening of the positions of the kulaks and a growth of political activity among the broad masses of the working peasantry on the basis of the deepening socialist revolution in the countryside. And in all these changes in rural political life a role of great importance was played by the Poor Peasants' Committees.

At the close of 1918, after fulfilling their mission the Poor Peasants' Committees ceased to exist.

The new attitudes of the middle peasants signified a further strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the alliance upon which the Soviet state was based.

War Communism

The foreign imperialists and their allies in Russia were doing all they could to bring about the collapse of the Soviet state. Consequently the Soviet people had to prepare for a long and hard war. Of prime importance in this respect was the building up of the armed forces. In October 1918 Lenin stated this crucial task which faced the party and the country: "We had decided," he said, "to have an army of one million men by the spring; now we need an army of three million. We can have it. *And we shall have it.*"[1]

It was also necessary to put the economy increasingly on a military footing with the whole country at the service of the front. On November 30, 1918 the All-Russia Central Executive Committee set up a Workers' and Peasants' Defence Council headed by Lenin for controlling affairs at the front and in the rear and for mobilising all resources for the country's defence.

The Soviet Government took a number of emergency measures, which were generally known as the policy of war communism. War communism began to be introduced during the second half of 1918.

In a situation of worsening Civil War and foreign intervention

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Letter to a Joint Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet and Representatives of Factory Committees and Trade Unions, October 3, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 103.

the Soviet state nationalised medium and small-scale industry as well as large-scale industry. This total concentration of industry in the hands of the state was necessary to ensure that the army, the towns and the villages were all fully provided for. All trading enterprises were also nationalised.

A most important element of war communism was the forced food surplus requisitioning which was introduced in January 1919. This required that the peasants hand over to the state all their surplus grain, keeping only that which was necessary for personal use, for sowing and for fodder. Each province was assessed according to the harvest and was required to provide its quota of grain. The provinces then apportioned their quota between the uyezds, the rural districts (volosts), the villages and the individual peasant holdings. Fulfillment of the grain delivery plan was obligatory.

This requisitioning was carried out on the basis of a class principle formulated by Lenin. This principle stated that the poor peasants were to provide nothing, the middle peasants a moderate amount and the rich peasants a large amount.

In the harsh conditions of the Civil War which prevailed at the time there could be no question of allowing market relations to develop with the peasants selling off their surplus products. This would have resulted in the country's meagre resources being seized upon by the profiteers instead of going to meet the needs of defence. Grain requisitioning was therefore the only solution and the only policy that could save the Soviet state during the period of intervention and Civil War.

The Soviet Government also introduced universal labour conscription. The bourgeoisie were made to undertake compulsory physical labour and everyone lived according to the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

A characteristic feature of the Soviet economy during the period of war communism was the conversion to in-kind payment and the concomitant reduction in the importance of money as a medium of exchange. The output of the nationalised industries and state farms was immediately the property of the government without any payment having to be made. Requisitions were payed for at fixed prices in rapidly depreciating paper money.

For food stuffs and industrial goods ration cards were in-

troduced, though the items themselves were either free of charge or paid for at low fixed prices. Industrial and office workers were not paid in money so much as in kind.

Despite all the difficulties the Soviet Government put the whole of the rear to the service of the front, turning the whole country into a united military camp. The army was thus provided with weapons, ammunition, uniform and provisions. These immensely difficult tasks were achieved through the policy of war communism.

Having concentrated in its hands the commanding heights of the national economy, the Soviet Government channeled all its resources to the needs of defence. The distribution of raw materials, fuel, provisions and industrial goods was strictly centralised. The chief committees (*glavki*) that were set up under the Supreme Council for the National Economy controlled the enterprises in the various industries, managed their finances and supplied them with raw materials and equipment. The chief committees controlled all industrial output.

War communism made it possible to maintain the largest industrial enterprises and thereby lose none of the essential working class cadres.

Communist Party policy in the countryside ensured that the front was always supplied with the necessary provisions. By doing away with the landowning class, giving the land to the working peasants, freeing the latter from extortionate payments and preventing the restoration of the landowners' rule of oppression, the Soviet Government guaranteed itself the support of the working population in the villages. The working peasantry accepted the forced grain requisitions because the Soviet Government protected them from the landowner and the kulak. The peasant understood that to preserve the land he had been given by Soviet power, he had to do all he could to maintain that power.

During the period of struggle with the interventionists and White Guards war communism was the only correct and viable system of economic management and therefore the only correct policy for the Soviet state, for it made possible the mobilisation of all the country's forces for the defeat of the enemy.

But war communism is not an economically inevitable stage in the development of the socialist revolution. For Soviet Russia it

was a forced measure, dictated by the war and by the exceptional difficulties imposed by the needs of defence. The Soviet Government had to repel the enemy and cope with economic dislocation and the running of a country that was blockaded by enemies and completely deprived of economic aid from outside. War communism was also caused by the desperate resistance of the bourgeoisie which necessitated the adoption on the part of the proletariat of the most acute forms of struggle.

After the October Revolution the Soviet state wanted to effect "a more gradual transition to the new social and economic relations".[1] But the Russian bourgeoisie would not agree to any concessions, would not accept state management or production control and unleashed a civil war that threatened the very existence of Soviet power. These actions of the capitalists, Lenin said, drove us "... into a desperate and relentless struggle, and that compelled us to destroy the old relations to a far larger extent than we had at first intended".[2]

Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B). Transition to a Policy of Strengthening Alliance with the Middle Peasants

The Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) which was held in March 1919 was an important landmark in the life of the country. At the congress a considerable amount of time was devoted to discussion of relations between the working class and the middle peasant.

Already by the autumn of 1918 the middle peasantry had become more active in their support for Soviet power. Henceforth, as Lenin stated in November the Party slogan was to be "... to come to an agreement with the middle peasant—while not for a moment renouncing the struggle against the kulak and at the same time firmly relying solely on the poor peasant..."[3]

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Seventh Moscow Gubernia Conference of the Russian Communist Party, October 29-31, 1921", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, 1976, p. 89.

[2] Ibid., p. 91.

[3] V. I. Lenin, "The Valuable Admissions of Pitirim Sorokin", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 191.

The Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) adopted and developed this thesis on the peasant question. Whereas before the congress the Party had pursued a policy of neutralising the middle peasants, it now came out in favour of strengthening alliance with the middle peasants in which the leading role was to be played by the proletariat.

The decisions of the congress on the attitude towards the mass of the peasantry were of great historical significance. The adoption of a policy of firm alliance with the middle peasant meant that the socialist revolution had entered a new stage. In the initial stage political power had been gained by the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the landowners had been smashed. This was followed by the next stage during which the socialist revolution spread to the countryside and brought about the defeat of the kulaks, thereby making Soviet power considerably stronger. And only after this stage had been successfully reached, only after the Soviet Government had, as Lenin put it, accomplished "the main thing, the prime and basic task of the proletarian revolution... and precisely because we have accomplished it..."[1] did it become possible to undertake the next and more complex task, that of strengthening the alliance with the middle peasants. In this way the social basis of Soviet power was considerably extended.

The strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry laid the firm foundation for the defeat of the interventionists and the successful building of socialism.

This alliance with the peasantry was promoted by the appointment of M. I. Kalinin to the post of Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee following the death of Ya. M. Sverdlov on March 16, 1919. The candidacy of this outstanding politician was particularly suitable for the fact that Kalinin was, as Lenin noted, himself of peasant descent and therefore knew well their needs and aspirations.

The Eighth Congress also adopted a number of important decisions on the building up of the Red Army. The matter was discussed in a closed session of the congress, which rejected the pro-

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.), March 18-23, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 203.

posals of the so-called military opposition that called for an irregular army and that opposed rigid discipline and the use of military specialists. The congress issued a directive on strengthening the Red Army as a regular, centralised and strictly disciplined army. At the same time the delegates at the congress criticised the distortions of party policy by Trotsky who disregarded the principles of party leadership in the army and party-political work among the rank and file, and did not ensure adequate control over the old military specialists.

The decisions of the congress on military matters, which formulated the theoretical principles and practical steps necessary for the building up of the army, resulted in the strengthening of the Red Army and the raising of its efficiency as a fighting unit.

The congress adopted the new Party programme. The old Party programme, which had been approved in 1903 had with the victory of the socialist revolution been largely fulfilled. The new tasks which faced the Party under the dictatorship of the proletariat required a new programme. Thus, under the guidance and with the direct participation of V. I. Lenin a second programme was drawn up. This was a programme for the building of socialism and, as such, was a further creative development of the Marxist-Leninist science of the building of a socialist society. It summarised the experience of the struggle of the Russian working class and its Party and, in Lenin's words, showed "the results of the new stage in the world movement for the emancipation of the proletariat".[1]

The programme presented a detailed formulation of the concrete tasks facing the Party in the struggle for socialism. It considered the utmost development of the productive forces of the country as the "main and fundamental task, determining the whole economic policy of the Soviet state".

The programme, Lenin said, "will provide the most effective answer to the question as to what has been done by the Russian Communist Party, which is one of the units of the international proletariat".[2]

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.), March 18-23, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 222.

[2] Ibid.

The second Party programme set out the goals and defined the prospects for the building of a socialist society. As one of the most important Marxist-Leninist documents it lay at the basis of the work of the Communist Party throughout the whole transitional period from capitalism to socialism and helped increase the creative activity of the working people.

3. THE VICTORIES OF THE RED ARMY IN 1919

All Against Kolchak

In the spring of 1919 the Entente increased its attacks on the Soviet Republic. The new offensive was launched by the united forces of the counter-revolutionaries and the interventionists. The Soviet state had to fight simultaneously on several fronts. Thus, in the East there were Kolchak's forces, in the South and North Caucasus Denikin's troops and in the North at Arkhangelsk and Murmansk the British, French and American interventionists together with the White Guard army of General Miller. At the same time General Yudenich, supported by the British fleet and White Finnish and White Estonian armies was threatening Petrograd, while the White Poles, White Guards and the armies of Petlyura were pressing from the West.

But in spring 1919 the main front was the East, for it was Kolchak's forces who represented the greatest threat to the Soviet state. The Entente imperialists were relying heavily on Admiral Kolchak and to this end had helped him build up a three hundred thousand-strong army and supplied him with weapons, equipment and ammunition.

On March 4, 1919 Kolchak's forces began their offensive along the entire two thousand miles of the Eastern Front. By the end of the month they had broken through at the centre and driven a deep wedge into the Soviet defences.

At this moment of dire danger the Central Committee of the Communist Party called upon the working class and the peasantry to come to the defence of their socialist homeland. In April 1918 the Council of People's Commissars announced the general mobilisation of all workers and peasants born between 1890 and 1899.

The programme for mobilising the whole Soviet people against Kolchak was set out by Lenin in his "Theses of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on the Situation on the Eastern Front" which were published on April 12, 1919. "Kolchak's victories on the Eastern Front," said Lenin, "are creating an extremely grave danger for the Soviet Republic. Our efforts must be exerted to the utmost to smash Kolchak."[1]

The Party Central Committee called upon all the working people to take active part in the defence of the country, support the mobilisation announced by the Council of People's Commissars and help in the task of provisioning the Red Army. Women and youths came to the factories to replace the men who had gone to the front. The Central Committee demanded a resolute struggle against all those who willingly or unwillingly aided Kolchak, particularly the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

In order to help the local Party and Soviet organisations in effecting mobilisation to the army and to improve their work in general the Central Committee sent large groups of Communists headed by prominent party and Soviet functionaries to 28 of the provinces. In answer to the call the whole country rose to fight against Kolchak. Hundreds of thousands of new recruits joined the Red Army.

As a result of mobilisation in the Party, Komsomol and trade union organisations more than 15,000 Party, 3,000 Komsomol and 60,000 trade union members went off to fight on the Eastern Front to play an important role in the defeat of Kolchak. They helped to rally the soldiers and brought to the Red Army the spirit of iron discipline, courage and steadfastness. In January 1919 the Red Army had a force of one million; by October of the same year this number had increased threefold.

Communist Subbotniks

The initiators of and participants in the first communist *subbotnik* were communist railway workers from Moscow.

In his report to an Extraordinary Plenary Session of the Mos-

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 276.

cow Soviet on April 3, 1919 entitled "On the Internal and External Position of the Soviet Republic" Lenin turned his attention to the difficult situation on the railways and called upon the workers to give transport all possible aid. Inspired by Lenin's call the members of the Party cell at the marshalling yards of the Moscow-Kazan Railway decided at a meeting held on April 6, 1919, on the initiative of their chairman, I. Ye. Burakov, to carry out repairs to the engines that were needed for transportation to the Eastern Front in their own time and without pay. This first *subbotnik* was held on the night of April 12-13.

The example set by the Communists at the Moscow marshalling yards met with a warm response from all the railway workers in Moscow. Soon afterwards factory workers in Moscow, Petrograd, Tver and other towns and cities began to organise *subbotniks* of their own. Each week more and more communist *subbotniks* were held by different groups of workers. It became a mass movement with the participation of a large number of non-Party workers.

Lenin wrote a work entitled "A Great Beginning" which he devoted to communist *subbotniks*. Here, while mentioning the great heroism shown by the workers at the front, he pointed out that the heroism of those in the rear was no less worth of attention and that *subbotniks* marked the beginning of a revolution that was no less difficult and no less radical and decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for it was a victory over all the habits that capitalism had instilled into the workers and the peasants. With the perspicacity of genius Lenin saw the communist *subbotniks* as communism in the bud, as manifestation of a communist attitude to work. He also stressed the most important practical significance which the *subbotniks* had for the primary needs of the economy in conditions of war. The communist *subbotniks* were an important contribution by workers to overcoming economic dislocation and they provided considerable help for the front and the rear.

In conditions of war, blockade, hunger and cold and faced with unbelievable difficulties in finding enough food and raw materials, the workers strained every effort to provide the army with all it needed to defeat the enemy. Month by month armaments production increased with 500,000 new rifles and more

than 500 guns being manufactured during the course of the year.

The working peasantry gave up their grain to the Soviet state and thereby provided the working class and the Red Army with the necessary minimum. From 1917 to 1918 the state procured 30 million poods of grain, while from 1918 to 1919 the figure rose to 110 million poods.

The Military-Political Alliance of the Soviet Republics

All the peoples from all the Soviet republics rose to the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries and interventionists. To defend their very existence the Soviet socialist republics had to unite to resist the interventionists and White Guards.

On May 18, 1919 the All-Ukraine Central Executive Committee passed a resolution on the need to unite the military forces of the Soviet republics. Similar resolutions were passed by other Soviet republics. The decree entitled "On the Unification of the Soviet Socialist Republics—Russia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania and Byelorussia—for the Struggle Against World Imperialism" was an expression of the will of all the Soviet peoples. According to this decree a single military command was set up and the economic councils and the organs of railway management, finance and labour were all unified.

Thus was formed the military and political alliance of Soviet socialist republics, which played an immense role in the victory over the interventionists and internal counter-revolutionaries. And this military and political alliance was a major step forward in the formation of an integral union state.

The Counter-offensive of the Red Army on the Eastern Front and at Petrograd

The Party Central Committee and the Soviet Government issued a directive to the Military Revolutionary Council to halt the retreat on the Eastern Front and prepare for a counter-offensive. This counter-offensive, which was intended to strike a crushing blow against Kolchak, was led by two prominent Com-

munist Party members, M. V. Frunze (commander-in-chief) and V. V. Kuibyshev (member of the Military Revolutionary Council).

From April to June the Soviet troops on the Eastern Front carried out four consecutive operations which resulted in the retreat of Kolchak along the whole front and the complete collapse of his strategy. Lenin called upon the troops to take the Urals at all costs before winter, considering this to be vital for the safety of the Republic.

At the same time Communists in Siberia and the Urals stepped up the formation of partisan units of workers and peasants for the underground struggle against counter-revolution and intervention. Already in December 1918 the Siberian Bureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee had been set up to run the Siberian and Ural underground. The Bureau furnished men, money and arms for the underground fighters as well as literature and newspapers. It also provided a link with the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.).

By the summer of 1919 the underground partisan movement was operating throughout Siberia and the Far East on a vast scale. It was a mass movement of the people, directed and organised by the Bolshevik underground.

The largest centres of the partisan movement in Siberia were the Altai, Tomsk, Yenisei and Irkutsk provinces. The partisan detachments, which were in fact vast army-type formations controlled from the centre, turned into a mighty force. As a result of their activity large units of Kolchak's regular army had to be detached from the front as well as considerable interventionist forces which guarded Kolchak's lines of communication.

Meanwhile the Soviet troops on Eastern Front continued to maintain their offensive. In June-July they liberated Ufa, Perm, Ekaterinburg, and crossing the Urals, occupied Chelyabinsk.

By August 15 they had reached the Tobol River, which meant that the objective of taking the Urals before winter had been accomplished. The remnants of Kolchak's army were thrown back far to the east.

In the first half of May 1919, while Kolchak was reeling under the blows of the Red Army in the east, Yudenich's White Guards began a major offensive against Petrograd.

Having broken through the front between the Narva and Chudskoye Lake Yudenich supported by the British fleet in the Gulf of Finland presented a real threat to the city.

On May 22 the Central Committee of the Party published an appeal in *Pravda* for all-round support to be given to Petrograd. "Soviet Russia," it said, "cannot surrender Petrograd even for a moment... The importance of the city is far too great, for it was here that the flame of revolution was first sparked against the bourgeoisie and here the proletariat was first victorious.

"The workers of Petrograd sent tens of thousands of soldiers unsparingly to the front for Soviet Russia. Now Soviet Russia must help Petrograd."

In answer to this appeal thousands of workers and peasants joined the Red Army and set off to the Petrograd Front. In the Petrograd Military District all workers from the age of 18 to 40 were mobilised as were thousands of Petrograd Communists in order to raise the morale of the soldiers at the front and increase the effectiveness of party-political work among the military units. Within a few days the town was prepared to offer stubborn resistance.

But at a critical moment in the struggle the enemy called into action its fifth column that had been secretly acting in Petrograd and at the front. On June 13 a mutiny broke out at the fort of Krasnaya Gorka instigated by agents of British Intelligence with the aid of Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. Rebellions also broke out simultaneously at the Seraya Loshad and Obruchev forts.

In Petrograd itself a counter-revolutionary uprising had been planned, but the plot was exposed in time and the conspirators rendered harmless by the Cheka under the personal leadership of Dzerzhinsky.

On June 15, the Red Army attacked the rebellious forts. Battleships of the Baltic Fleet opened fire on the Krasnaya Gorka fort, while Red Army units attacked simultaneously on dry land. On the night of June 16 a Red Army land unit took the fort and soon afterwards the other two forts also surrendered.

On June 21, 1919 the Petrograd Front began a counter-offensive and by early September Yudenich had been thrown back into Estonia.

In December 1918 and January 1919 the Entente imperialists had launched a fierce campaign against the Baltic Soviet Republics. They had formed an army of many thousands from Latvian White Guards and German "volunteers". The military operations of these counter-revolutionary forces were given support from the British fleet. As a result they succeeded in taking Riga and the Red Army units retreated eastwards.

Meanwhile in Estonia units of hired mercenaries from Germany, Finland, Sweden, and Denmark together with battalions of Estonian kulaks and Russian White Guards succeeded in dislodging the Soviet troops from the River Narva.

At the same time the Lithuanian workers and peasants were subjected to attacks from White Polish and German contingents and Lithuanian counter-revolutionaries.

Thus in 1919 the Entente imperialists had overthrown Soviet power in Estonia, occupied a considerable part of Latvia and Lithuania and restored the national bourgeoisie to power in these places.

The Rout of Denikin and Yudenich

In the summer and autumn of 1919 Denikin and Yudenich with the support of the bourgeois landowners from Poland and other counter-revolutionary forces launched a joint offensive on the Soviet Republic. As in the previous spring Soviet Russia was surrounded by a ring of fronts. The main thrust this time came from the former tsarist general, Denikin, with 110,000 men at his command. Against Denikin stood five Red Armies of the Southern Front with no more than 86,000 men.

The British, American and French imperialists had supplied Denikin with all types of contemporary weaponry including tanks and aircraft. The United States alone sent sufficient weapons, ammunition and equipment to supply an army of 100,000. Denikin also had some 2,000 British officers as advisers, instructors and pilots.

Denikin's army was thus a major new force for the counter-revolutionaries. Relying heavily on the military aid of the Entente, in May-June 1919 Denikin went over to the offensive

along the whole Southern Front, thereby putting Soviet Russia into serious danger once more. Denikin's army was also supported in this offensive by the wealthy Don and Kuban Cossacks.

By June 1919 Denikin had taken vast areas in the South of Russia and the Ukraine. By the end of June Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav and Tsaritsyn had fallen to the counter-revolutionaries.

With the fall of Tsaritsyn Astrakhan remained the only outpost of Soviet power in South-East Russia. For this reason, despite a directive of Trotsky to the contrary, Lenin ordered that Astrakhan should be held at all costs. The Astrakhan Communists, therefore, under the leadership of S. M. Kirov, concentrated all the forces of the army and the home guard (formed from the Astrakhan workers) on the defence of the city.

At the same time the bourgeois-landowner government of Poland which had been accorded an important role in the campaign against Soviet Russia by the imperialists, launched at the order of the Entente a military offensive and already during February-April 1919 they had captured part of Byelorussia.

In the areas under Polish occupation the bourgeoisie and landowners were restored to power. The factories were given back to capitalists and the estates returned to their landlords.

By the end of August the Red Army was dug in along the River Berezina and all further attempts of the White Poles to break through to the East were frustrated.

In mid-summer 1919 enemy pressure began to build up against the Soviet Republic. On July 3 Denikin ordered an offensive against Moscow.

Once again the Communist Party called upon the Soviet people to struggle against this new enemy offensive. Lenin sent a letter entitled "All Out for the Fight Against Denikin!" addressed to the Party and to all workers and peasants. The letter, which was published on July 9, 1919 in the name of the Party Central Committee, began: "This is one of the most critical, probably even the most critical moment for the socialist revolution."[1]

The most dangerous aspect about the situation which obtained in summer 1919 was the fact that the struggle with Denikin was taking place right in the centre of the country and that Denikin's

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 436.

offensive was a direct threat to the capital, Moscow. With his large numbers of trained officers and Cossacks and his well-armed troops, Denikin's army was a serious and dangerous enemy. Lenin demanded the strictest military discipline, organisation and revolutionary vigilance to be maintained everywhere.

It was necessary to mobilise all forces to drive Denikin back and beat him without halting the victorious offensive of the Red Army in the East.

Lenin's letter to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee outlined the precise military tactics to be adopted by the Party and set the targets for the mobilisation of manpower and resources needed for victory. The letter stated the need for a broad propaganda campaign among the population and the new recruits and gave details in such matters as the organisation of equipment and supplies for the Red Army, the reduction of non-military work in the rear, the work in the front-line areas, the military training of the working people, the need to step up the struggle against counter-revolution in the rear and the mobilisation of the population for the defeat of the enemy.

The letter concluded with a call to all Communists and to all conscious workers and peasants to work as befit revolutionaries.

On the instructions of the Party Central Committee the local Party organisations set about expanding their political propaganda work. Thousands of Communists, the keenest and most conscientious workers, were sent all over the country. Special propaganda trains and steamboats were used to cover the long distances. On these prominent Party and state officials like M. I. Kalinin and N. K. Krupskaya, worked frequently.

Following the call of the Party Central Committee some 30,000 Communists were sent to the front. The second Congress of the Komsomol, which took place in October 1919 passed a resolution entitled "On the Mobilisation of Komsomol Members Aged 16 Years and Over for the Defence of the Republic and for Service in the Rear". As a result of the Komsomol recruitment drive more than 21,500 youths were enrolled in the army. In many Komsomol organisations the members went off to the front all to a man. The trade unions sent 36,000 men to the front.

In these grim days the working class and the working peasantry united more closely behind the Party. Clear evidence of the

rising prestige of the Party was the mass enrollment of workers and peasants in its ranks. It was with regard for this new influx of workers and peasants into the Party that on September 26, 1919 a plenary session of the Central Committee adopted a resolution on the organisation of Party weeks in the towns and among the troops. During these Party weeks more than 200,000 new members entered the Party.

In the areas temporarily occupied by the White Guards a harsh regime of terror was practiced against the workers and peasants, and the bourgeoisie and landowners were returned to power. The latter had the right to exact one-third of the peasants' crops annually starting with 1919.

In the factories and mills the old system was fully restored and the former owners returned to their property. Exploitation increased, wages were cut and the working day lengthened.

In his nationalities policy Denikin was a firm adherent of the principle of a "single and indivisible Russia".[1]

Denikin and his troops aroused the hatred of the whole working population, which in turn made them increasingly sympathetic to Soviet power. Underground warfare spread and popular uprisings became increasingly common in Denikin's rear. On the instructions of the Party Central Committee the underground party organisations stepped up their work among the population throughout the whole of the occupied zone. Despite the terror practiced by Denikin's counter-intelligence, the Party organisations operating in the enemy rear were able to lead the struggle of the workers and peasants against the White Guards. Thus by the autumn of 1919 the partisan movement covered almost the whole of the Ukraine, the Crimea, the Northern Caucasus and the Caucasian coast of the Black Sea.

During the first half of October Denikin's troops succeeded in dislodging Soviet forces and taking the cities of Orel and Voronezh. They also got near to Tula confident that Moscow would soon fall. This was a most critical moment for Soviet Russia.

On October 15, 1919 the Central Committee of the Commun-

[1] "Single and indivisible Russia"—a great-power chauvinist slogan, which amounted to denying the rights of the peoples of Russia to self-determination.

ist Party discussed the situation on all fronts and outlined a number of measures designed to "put Soviet Russia on a complete military footing". The objectives for the different fronts were clarified. The main thrust was to be concentrated on the Southern Front and aimed at Kharkov, Donbas and Rostov-on-Don.

In the second half of October heavy fighting began on the Southern Front on a line from Voronezh to Orel and from Orel to Bryansk. The bloodiest battles occurred in the central section of the Front where enemy resistance was the most stubborn. At dawn of October 20 Red Army units entered Orel, but the enemy was far from being broken. Kromy passed from one side to the other several times, but finally on October 26 a unit of Soviet strike force finally dislodged the enemy from the town.

On October 24 Budyonny's Red Cavalry drove the Whites out of Voronezh in a single direct attack, which resulted in the enemy losing thousands as prisoners of war and a vast amount of arms, ammunition, equipment and several armoured trains.

All this amounted to a turning point in the struggle with Denikin. In December the Red Army took Kharkov and entered the Donbas. At the same time the army defending Astrakhan went over to the offensive against the Northern Caucasus. On January 3, 1920 Red Army units took Tsaritsyn, while after heavy fighting on the Southern Front enemy resistance was eventually broken and on January 10 Rostov-on-Don was liberated. With the arrival of the Red Army at the Sea of Azov Denikin's front had been split.

Denikin, who had recently been such a serious threat to the very existence of the Soviet Republic, was now to all intents and purposes beaten. On March 27, 1920 the Red Army took Novorossiisk, the last stronghold of the Whites and Denikin was forced to flee abroad.

Meanwhile in the North similarly successful operations had been conducted against Yudenich's army. In the autumn of 1919 Yudenich had begun a second offensive against Petrograd and once more the city had been under serious threat. Yudenich had been so confident of success that after the taking of Detskoye Selo he gave orders to the radio transmissions to announce his entry into Petrograd.

But at dawn on October 21 Red Army units supported by warships of the Baltic Fleet launched a counter-offensive along the whole front. For three days the White Guards maintained stubborn resistance. But neither the crack officer units that were in action at the most critical sectors, nor the tanks commanded by British officers, nor the British fleet supporting the infantry could hold back the Red Army attack. Yudenich's White Guard army, which had been formed by British, American and French imperialists was beaten. For its heroic defence the city of Petrograd was awarded the Order of the Red Banner.

After the defeat of Yudenich the British fleet was driven out of Soviet waters in the Baltic.

At the same time, in October 1919, Kolchak was also completely defeated. On November 14, 1919 the advanced force of the Red Army, which had been on the heels of the enemy since its retreat, fought their way into Omsk, which Kolchak had made his capital. On January 6, 1920 the remnants of Kolchak's army were surrounded and captured at Krasnoyarsk. Only a very small number succeeded in escaping. Kolchak himself was captured and together with his "prime-minister", Pepelyaev, was executed on orders of the Irkutsk Revolutionary Military Committee.

The defeat of Kolchak forced the Entente and the USA to withdraw their troops from Siberia and the Far East, and Japan to retreat to the Primorye.

On January 31, 1920 Vladivostok was liberated by partisan detachments operating jointly with the insurgent workers of the city. By late February-early March the partisans had cleared the remnants of Kolchak's army from the whole of the Far East except the Transbaikal.

On the orders of the Soviet Government the Red Army finally brought its offensive to a halt at the shores of Lake Baikal. Further movement east was for the present impossible as a result of the general international situation and the lack of the manpower and resources needed to combat the powerful armies of Japanese interventionists that held that part of the country. The local party organisations were issued directives to the effect that clashes with the Japanese interventionists should be avoided as being disadvantageous to the Soviet Republic and that efforts should be devoted to the formation of a provisional popular-

revolutionary government that in structure would resemble a bourgeois-democratic republic. With this aim in view the Far Eastern Republic was set up.

The formation of the Far Eastern Republic was proclaimed by a Constituent Congress of working people and partisans from the Baikal region in the town of Verkhneudinsk (now Ulan-Ude) on April 6, 1920.

Thus a buffer state had been formed in the Far East with the appearance of a bourgeois-democratic republic. Under this guise it began with the guidance of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Party Central Committee to pursue Soviet policy aimed at the peaceful removal of Japanese intervention.

In early 1920 the Red Army victoriously completed its military operations on the Northern Front.

The Defeat of the Bourgeois-Nationalist Counter-Revolution in Azerbaijan and Central Asia

By mid-April 1920 Soviet power had been restored throughout the whole of the Northern Caucasus. But in the Transcaucasian republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia power was still in the hands of the bourgeois nationalists. Therefore the basic social and economic goals had not yet been achieved here. The best lands still belonged to the landowners, the kulaks and the Church, while the workers suffered unrestrained exploitation working a twelve-hour day.

All this aroused the fierce indignation of the masses who saw no way out of the situation but overthrowing the bourgeois regimes and establishing Soviet power.

As the Red Army drew nearer to the Transcaucasian borders the revolutionary movement in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia intensified with every passing day and preparations were made for an armed uprising.

It was the proletariat of Azerbaijan that were the first to raise the flag of insurrection. On the night of April 27-28, 1920 the Mussavatist government was overthrown. Power passed to the Provisional Revolutionary Committee of Azerbaijan under the chairmanship of Communist N. Narimanov. The Revolutionary

Committee with the full support of the working people proclaimed Azerbaijan to be a Soviet Socialist Republic. They addressed a proposal to the Government of Soviet Russia that a union should be concluded between the two republics and that military aid be given to Soviet Azerbaijan.

The Soviet Government responded to this sending Red Army units stationed on the Transcaucasian border to their aid. Three prominent party officials, G. K. Ordjonikidze, S. M. Kirov and A. I. Mikoyan were also sent to Baku along with the advanced units. They did much to strengthen Soviet power in Azerbaijan and throughout the whole of Transcaucasia. In this way the victory of the proletariat of Baku was consolidated with the fraternal help of the workers of Soviet Russia.

After the defeat of Kolchak's army in the Urals (summer 1919) Soviet Russia was able to give direct help to Soviet Turkestan which was surrounded by the enemy. With this end in view an independent Turkestan Front was created on the Eastern Front in August 1919 and M. V. Frunze and V. V. Kuibyshev were appointed as the Front's commander and member of the Military Revolutionary Council, respectively.

Units of the newly-formed Turkestan Front advancing southeast joined up with forces of the Turkestan Soviet Republic, who were advancing to meet them along the Tashkent railroad. Thus, the direct link between Turkestan and the central regions of Soviet Russia was re-established.

The formation of a Soviet Republic in Turkestan was part of the heroic struggle of the working people of Central Asia for national and social liberation. Under exceptionally difficult conditions the party and Soviet organisations of Turkestan did away with the old colonialist order and took the first steps towards agrarian reform. Soviet power made it possible for the working people of all nationalities living in Turkestan to join the Red Army. On the numerous fronts that surrounded Soviet Turkestan the Russian soldiers fought side by side with Uzbeks, Tadjiks, Turkmen, Kazakhs and people of other nations.

Soon after the re-establishment of communications with Turkestan the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars formed a Turkestan Commis-

sion.[1] The Turkestan Commission provided great help for the local Soviet and party organisations in strengthening Soviet power in Turkestan and in establishing correct relations between the RSFSR and the peoples of Central Asia. The work of the Turkestan Commission was carried out under the supervision of the Party Central Committee.

By early 1920 the Red Army had liberated the whole of the Transcaspian region. The Soviet forces were now able to concentrate on getting rid of the basmachi bands that operated under Dzhunaidkhan, an agent of British intelligence. These bands were formed in Khiva and engaged in systematic guerrilla warfare against Soviet troops in Turkestan and terrorised the local civilian population. On February 1, 1920 the working people of Khiva overthrew the Khan with the aid of the Red Army and took power into their own hands. Following this, a Congress of Soviets of People's Representatives convened by the Khiva Communists proclaimed the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic.

The defeat of the body of counter-revolutionary forces in Central Asia made it possible for Soviet Turkestan to begin the peaceful construction of socialism. The Turkestan Bureau of the Party Central Committee, which was set up in April 1920, worked jointly with the Turkestan Commission to strengthen Soviet power in the region and restore the national economy.

The successes achieved by Soviet power in Turkestan had a great revolutionising effect on the peoples of Bukhara, who still lived under the feudal despotism of the Emir. The Bukhara Emirate was one of the largest hotbeds of counter-revolution, but its days were numbered. In summer 1920 insurrections broke out in a number of regions. The Bukhara Communist Party Congress, which was held on August 16 at Chardzhou, called upon the working people of Bukhara to begin a popular armed uprising and appealed to Soviet Turkestan for support in the liberation struggle.

At the call of the Bukhara Communists a general uprising of the people began. The insurrectionists were supported by units

[1] The commission included Sh. Eliava (chairman), V. V. Kuibyshev, M. V. Frunze and Ya. E. Rudzutak.

of the Red Army and on September 2, 1920 the uprising ended in complete victory. At the First All-Bukhara People's Congress the formation of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic was proclaimed.

The revolutions in Khorezm and Bukhara were not at this stage socialist ones. They were rather anti-feudal and anti-imperialist in character and were directed primarily against slavery and despotism.

Thus, the Red Army had won decisive victories over the joint forces of internal and external counter-revolution, and a brief period of peace set in.

4. THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR AND INTERVENTION

The End of the Blockade. The Period of Peace

The Red Army victories over the interventionist and White Guard armies, the strengthening of the Soviet state and the rising sympathies of the international proletariat towards it forced the Entente governments to change their tactics in relations with the Soviet Russia. On January 16, 1920 the Supreme Council of the Entente gave its sanction to the resumption of an exchange of goods between Russia and the allied and neutral countries. This to all intents and purposes meant lifting the blockade. It was now made permissible to export clothing, medicines and agricultural equipment to Russia in exchange for wood and other raw materials. The Soviet cooperatives entered into negotiations with a number of private firms in Europe and the United States on the resumption of trade relations.

But the removal of the blockade did not signify any fundamental change in the interventionist policies of the imperialists towards Soviet Russia. The Entente still kept up its attempts to form a bloc of Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland) and also Poland and turn it against Russia.

But these attempts to drive the Baltic countries against Soviet Russia collapsed largely as a result of the struggle waged by the Baltic peoples for peace with the Soviet Republic.

On February 2, 1920 a peace treaty was signed in Tartu be-

tween Estonia and Soviet Russia. Evaluating the importance of this treaty, Lenin said: "This peace is a window into Europe. It opens up before us the possibility of beginning an exchange of goods with the West."[1]

On March 26, 1920 Latvia and soon afterwards Lithuania proposed peace talks with the Soviet Government.

One factor which greatly eased the international position of the Soviet state was the growth of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries. It was amid a great revolutionary upsurge that the Second Congress of the Communist International met in July-August, 1920, attended by more than 200 delegates from proletarian organisations in 41 countries.

The main point on the agenda of the Congress, which Lenin himself presided over, was the creation of genuinely revolutionary proletarian parties of a new type. The Second Congress laid the foundations for the programme and organisational principles of the Comintern.

By the spring of 1920 the grain and energy producing regions of the country—Siberia, the Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus, Donbas and Baku—had been cleared of White Guards and interventionists. At the same time the food situation in the industrial centres had slightly improved.

But the situation in the country as a whole remained extremely difficult. Agricultural output continued to drop and the grain requisitioning became an increasingly heavy burden for the peasants. Industry was dislocated with most of the plants and factories lying idle and the mines wrecked. The railways had been particularly badly affected.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government put forward a new slogan: "All for the National Economy!" The Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which was held in December 1919, devoted considerable attention to the programme for peaceful economic development.

But the threat of a new military intervention by the imperialist powers was still very real. This meant that there could be no question of the Soviet Government demobilising the army al-

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Speech at a Meeting of the Railwaymen of the Moscow Junction, February 5, 1920", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 345.

though it had almost five million men under arms and the country was sorely in need of workers. A partial way out of this situation was found by making use of the army itself as a work force with a number of Red Army units being turned into work brigades. Measures were also introduced whereby highly skilled workers could be demobilised to work at the factories. Particular attention was paid by the Party and the Government to the need to get the railways into working order again. Several thousand Communists were sent to work on transport.

Of immense importance was the struggle to rebuild the fuel industry, particularly the coal mines of the Donets Basin, which were the largest in the country. The Ukrainian Communists and Donbas miners, who had been among the front ranks of those who fought for Soviet power in the war, now became the vanguard of the labour front. The coal mining industry in the Donbas began to make rapid strides forward.

The need to build up the national economy was also at the centre of attention of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party, which was held in Moscow from March 29 to April 5, 1920. The delegates at the Congress represented some 612,000 Party members, an increase of one hundred per cent since the Eighth Congress, which had been held one year previously.

The Congress outlined the immediate tasks for the country in the reconstruction of industry and transport. It emphasised the need for the active participation of the trade unions in economic construction.

In February 1920 a commission was formed to draw up the state plan for the electrification of Russia (GOELRO) headed by G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, a major specialist in electrical engineering. The Ninth Congress emphasised that the restoration and development of the economy should be based on the electrification of the country. Lenin saw the electrification as a gigantic programme stretching over a period of 10 or 20 years. Without electrification there could be no question of building up large scale industry and without this industry it would be impossible to run agriculture on socialist principles. Thus Soviet specialists began to work on the GOELRO plan.

On the political plane the Ninth Congress had to wage a struggle against the so-called "Democratic Centralists". This faction

were against one-man management and the use of the old specialists and they opposed personal responsibility in the management of enterprises and institutions, advocating instead a kind of unlimited collectivity. Such a policy would have been highly detrimental to the Soviet state in which broad democracy had to be combined with strict discipline. This kind of discipline could only be achieved through the introduction of one-man management and the personal responsibility of the individual manager for production and for the fulfillment of state quotas.

The new attitude to labour among Soviet workers found its clear reflection in the communist *subbotniks,* the number of whose participants grew from month to month. On May 1, 1920 an all-Russia *subbotnik* was held. In Moscow alone more than 425,000 took part, i.e., the vast majority of the adult population of the city. Lenin participated in the *subbotnik* by doing physical work in the Kremlin. At the same time mass *subbotniks* were held in towns and cities all over the country.

The Invasion from the Bourgeois-Landlord Poland

In spite on the defeats they had suffered, the imperialist powers had still not lost hope of destroying Soviet Russia militarily. They therefore launched a new offensive with the help of what Lenin described as the two arms of international imperialism—the bourgeois-landowner Poland and Baron Wrangel who had collected the remnants of Denikin's army in the Crimea.

The Soviet Government did everything possible to avert a new war. Even in 1919 it had made several proposals to Poland for the establishment of normal, good-neighbourly relations.

But against all the interests of the Polish people ruling circles in that country at the instigation of the imperialists rejected a peaceful settlement of outstanding issues and turned down all the Soviet proposals. On April 25, 1920 the numerically superior Polish army invaded the Soviet Ukraine and on May 6 took Kiev.

Thus the brief respite came to an end. The ruling clique in

Poland intended to occupy the right-bank Ukraine and Soviet Byelorussia so that the Polish state should stretch "from sea to sea", i.e., from Danzig to Odessa.

This plan was approved by the Entente and Poland received vast quantities of arms and ammunition. In the spring of 1920 France alone provided some 1500 guns, more than 300,000 rifles, 3,000 machine guns and an immense amount of ammunition, and French officers served as instructors in the Polish army. The US government sent tanks, aircraft, machine guns, uniforms and medicines.

In the struggle against Soviet Russia the bourgeois-landlord government of Poland relied on the traitorous Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. On April 22, 1920 Petlyura, who had been driven out of the Soviet Ukraine to Poland, concluded an agreement with the Polish dictator Pilsudski on a joint struggle against the Bolsheviks. By this agreement Poland was to recognise the "independence" of a "Ukrainian People's Republic" to be headed by Petlyura. This agreement, of course, would have had the effect of making the Ukraine a colony of the Polish bourgeoisie and landowners.

Following the invasion of the White Poles in June 1920, Baron Wrangel launched an offensive from the Crimea.

Once more the Communist Party called upon the Soviet people to stand against the enemy.

As early as May 23, 1920 the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) issued its theses "The Polish Front and Our Tasks". The paper showed the necessity of mobilising all the forces of the country to resist the new invasion which threatened the Soviet Republic. The Party organisations were pledged to provide all-round help for the Western Front. True to the principles of internationalism the Central Committee declared: "...the defeat of the Polish White Guard army that has invaded our country in no way alters our attitude to the independence of Poland."

Large forces were committed, reinforced by Communists and Komsomols. (In all there were over 300,000 Communists and 70,000 Komsomols in the army.) At the same time thousands of Ukrainian and Byelorussian workers and peasants joined the partisans.

The Council of Labour and Defence[1] took a number of measures to improve the supply of weapons and ammunition to the Western Front. The workers achieved the increased government targets in the production of cartridges, rifles, machine guns and uniforms.

The Soviet Counter-Offensive

Among the fresh reinforcements was the heroic First Cavalry Army commanded by S. M. Budyonny. On June 5 they broke through the enemy lines and drove a wedge right into their rear. All attempts to dislodge this wedge proved ineffectual. On June 12 Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, was liberated and in the course of the next month Red Army units drove enemy back more than 300 kilometres.

On June 6-7 Wrangel's forces went over to the offensive, taking a number of regions in the Southern Ukraine. This presented a serious threat to the Donbas and to the rear of the Red Army fighting the White Poles. But despite the fact that Wrangel succeeded in drawing on to himself a considerable part of the Red Army, the latter still managed to retain the initiative and maintain its successful offensive against the White Poles.

On July 4, 1920 the forces under the command of M. N. Tukhachevsky also launched an offensive. The enemy front shuddered under the blows of the Soviet troops and began to fall back to the West. On July 11, 1920 Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, was liberated.

The victorious advance of the Red Army was fully supported by the Byelorussian and Ukrainian people who rose in a liberation struggle against the Polish invaders. Peasant uprisings against the occupationists and assaults by the partisans against the Polish garrisons continued throughout the brief period of enemy occupation of the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

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[1] During the brief respite that lasted through April 1920 the Workers' and Peasants' Defence Council had been transformed into the Council of Labour and Defence.

In mid-August the Red Army was at the approaches to Warsaw while its cavalry units were outside Lvov. The Polish forces were about to suffer complete defeat and the whole state was on the point of collapse.

The whole world anxiously followed the advance of the Red Army on Warsaw. In Poland and in the rest of Europe the revolutionary movement grew. At the Second Congress of the Communist International an appeal was made to the working people of all countries to defend the Soviet Republic, the fatherland of the world proletariat. The proletariat of Western Europe upset the supply of arms to Poland with a wave of strikes and demonstrations in various countries in July and August 1920 that were directed against the anti-Soviet policies of the Entente. Action committees were formed in all the major industrial cities of England to launch a campaign against the interventionist policies of the British government. In Germany, which had been crushed by the Treaty of Versailles, the workers formed secret Red Guard groups, while in Berlin the proletariat discussed the setting up of Soviets of Workers' Deputies. In Italy the workers took over factories and encouraged the rural population to join in their struggle.

"Hands off Soviet Russia!" was the call that came from all the class conscious workers in the capitalist countries.

The defeat of the White Polish armies aroused great anxiety among the Entente. On July 12, 1920 Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary, sent a note to the Soviet Government proposing the conclusion of a truce with Poland. Curzon demanded that the Red Army halt its advance and end the war with Wrangel. His proposal for a new border between Russia and Poland, subsequently known in history as the Curzon line, only demonstrated the anxiety of the imperialists, who were ready to go to any lengths to stop the advance of the Red Army and save Pilsudski and Wrangel from defeat.

Realising that Curzon's proposal was just a manoeuvre to gain time, the Soviet Government rejected the mediation of Great Britain, declaring that it was ready to establish peaceful relations with Poland, if it should approach the Soviet Government directly with such a proposal.

Meanwhile under cover of all this diplomatic stir about "peace-

ful" mediation the British fleet was ordered into the Baltic, the imperialists stepped up their military aid to the bourgeois-landlord Poland and a special Anglo-French mission was sent there.

With the full support of the Entente, ruling circles in Poland began feverish activity designed to save their position. The least sign of opposition to the regime was put down harshly and the Popular front that was forming in Poland was drowned in blood.

At the same time the Polish gentry and the Catholic Church encouraged nationalistic attitudes among the Polish people, while the Polish government introduced a new law on land reform, by which the peasants were promised land in order to win their support.

By playing on nationalist feelings and using demagogy, slander and lies the ruling clique around Pilsudski succeeded in turning a certain section of the population, particularly the backward peasantry, against the Red Army. Thus, as the latter drew nearer to Warsaw the strength of its thrust was considerably reduced, while the forces of the enemy grew. Furthermore, in the course of their headlong offensive the forward units of the Red Army advanced several hundred kilometres ahead of the rear with the result that when they reached the suburbs of Warsaw they had no reserves or ammunition. In this disadvantageous position they were forced to engage superior enemy units. On August 16, the White Poles, who had superiority in men and equipment, went over to the offensive and the Red Army was driven back to the east. The Polish advance, however, was soon checked and the front stabilised.

In their apprehension of the prospect of a new Red Army counter-offensive, the White Poles decided to conclude a peace treaty with Soviet Russia. As a result a truce and a preliminary peace treaty were signed in Riga on October 12, 1920 and on March 18, 1921 the actual peace treaty was signed in the same city. Both the contracting powers recognised the independence of the Ukraine and Byelorussia, but reactionary circles in Poland with the support of the Entente succeeded in seizing the western provinces of the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelorussia. Nevertheless the treaty did mean an end to the war and, as Lenin

pointed out, the peace was "far more favourable to us than the one we proposed to Poland in April".[1]

Despite resistance from the Entente the Soviet Government succeeded in concluding peace treaties with Lithuania (July 12, 1920), Latvia (August 11, 1920) and Finland (October 14, 1920). By the conclusion of these treaties Soviet Russia demonstrated once more the lofty principles of its foreign policy, showing its desire and readiness for peaceful coexistence with other states.

The Defeat of Wrangel. The End of the Civil War

Having made a peace treaty with Poland, the Soviet Republic set about driving out Wrangel and his White Guards. Wrangel was better armed than all the other White Guard armies with machine guns, artillery, armoured cars, tanks and planes supplied by the Entente. He was further supported by British, French and American warships. The Crimean Peninsula, where Wrangel had his base, was fortified by French sappers with all the latest military equipment. Furthermore, Wrangel counted on gaining support from the Kuban and Don Cossacks. With this end in view, in August 1920 his crack troops made a landing on the Taman Peninsula. But Wrangel had miscalculated. Not only did the Cossacks not support him, they on the contrary gave help to the Red Army in destroying his bridgehead.

In answer to the call of the Party Central Committee Communists and Komsomol members came from Moscow, Petrograd, the Donbas and other proletarian centres to join the fight against Wrangel. More than 8,000 Communists and 2,500 Komsomol members were sent to strengthen the Party and Komsomol sections at the front. New military formations were also sent south.

In late September 1920, M. V. Frunze was appointed commander of the Southern Front. By that time the Soviet infantry on this Front had achieved numerical superiority over the enemy.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, December 22-29, 1920", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1974, p. 488.

But Wrangel still maintained considerable superiority in his cavalry. In order to counterbalance this the First Cavalry Army was ordered to transfer from the Polish to the Southern Front.

In late October the Red Army began a general offensive. On October 28 a battle was fought in Northern Taurida, which lasted until November 3 and resulted in Wrangel being driven back into the Crimea, where he dug himself in behind the fortification at Perekop (a small town on the isthmus between the Crimea and the mainland).

On the night of November 8, 1920 Red Army unit began the heroic storming of Perekop. Under cover of night, as the wind drove the waters of the Sivash into the Sea of Azov Red Army strike units crossed the mud to force the gulf and so gain a bridgehead to the northern extremity of the Litovsky Peninsula in the enemy rear. They overran the Whites and by the morning had it under their complete control.[1] At the same time infantry units commanded by V. K. Blyukher by frontal attack broke through the Perekop defences. On November 11 after fierce fighting the Red Army broke through one more line of the heavily fortified enemy positions and pursued the panic-stricken enemy.

On November 12 Simferopol, capital of the Crimea, was liberated and on November 16 the victorious red flag was hoisted above Sevastopol. On that day Frunze sent a telegramme to Lenin that the counter-revolution in Southern Russia had been finally crushed by the Red Army.

With the help of the Entente Wrangel fled abroad with the remnants of his troops and with over 130 ships of the Black Sea Fleet which he put under French "guardianship".

The defeat of Wrangel and the White Poles meant that essentially the war with the White Guards and the interventionists was over. There were still a few hotbeds of counter-revolution

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[1] The Red Army troops were guided across the Sivash by a peasant named Ivan Olenchuk from the village of Stroganovka. Many years later in 1944 during the Second World War it was this same Olenchuk that once again guided the Soviet Army when they were driving out the fascists from the Crimea.

in Transcaucasia, but here it was only a matter of time before Soviet power was restored. At the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921 the working people of Armenia and Georgia under the leadership of the Communists rose against the rotten regimes of the Dashnaks and the Georgian Mensheviks. With the fraternal help of Soviet Russia Soviet power was proclaimed in Armenia on December 2, 1920 and in Georgia on February 25, 1921.

The Civil War and intervention continued longer in the Far East than in the rest of Soviet Russia. But the fighting there tended to be local and therefore did not require such a tremendous effort from the whole country as that needed in the war against Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, the White Poles and Wrangel. On May 26, 1921 there was a bourgeois counter-revolutionary coup helped by the troops of Ataman Semyonov. In October 1922 after the governments of the Far Eastern Republic and the RSFSR had turned down Japanese demands, Japan was forced under pressure from public opinion at home and abroad to withdraw its troops from the Primorye region. By October 20, 1922 the Far Eastern Republic's army and partisans drove out the White Guards from the whole Primorye and marched on Vladivostok. To avoid conflict with Japan they entered the city only after the last Japanese ship had left the port on October 25, 1922. In fulfillment of the will of the working people the People's Assembly of the Far Eastern Republic adopted a voluntary resolution to dissolve itself and proclaim Soviet power in the Far East.

Thus with the departure of the Japanese interventionists there was no longer any need for a buffer state. History has confirmed that the formation of the Far Eastern Republic was a wise diplomatic step on the part of Lenin, the Party and the Soviet Government. It was thanks to this that Soviet Russia was able to avoid a war with Japan and at the same time it ensured the victory of the Soviets in the Far East.

By its victory over the united armies of international imperialism and Russian counter-revolution the Soviet Republic demonstrated its great force and vitality.

The Social and Economic Gains of the Working People at the End of the Civil War

Despite all the hardships of the Civil War and foreign military intervention certain important changes were introduced into the country's economy, a number of socialist transformations of social life were made and a cultural revolution was begun.

By completing the nationalisation of large-, medium- and a sizable part of the country's small-scale industry the Soviet Government was able to control the commanding heights of the economy. By the end of 1920 there were some 4,500 nationalised enterprises in the Soviet Republic and new, socialist relations of production had been formed throughout the country's industry as a whole. Only the very smallest enterprises were still in the hands of private owners.

While nationalising industry the Soviet Government simultaneously encouraged the most advanced workers to take part in management and by December 1920, according to incomplete data, the number of workers participating in factory and plant management amounted to 61.6 per cent. This broad worker participation helped to build up a reliable management for the future. Of course, lack of knowledge and inexperience made the work of these new worker-managers more difficult. They frequently made mistakes and by no means all of them at first were able to perform their duties adequately. But nevertheless Bolshevik indefatigability, a thorough understanding of state interests and the support of the working masses helped them to master the art of management.

But its own efforts alone were not enough for the working class to successfully organise industrial production. It had not as yet sufficient knowledge. Therefore at the same time as the Soviet Government promoted the advanced workers to leading posts in management it also offered the old bourgeois specialists a similar opportunity. During the Civil War years the working class had already achieved great success in using these specialists both in the military field and in the organisation of the economy.

Industrial production in the country had sharply declined largely due to the fact that hundreds of plants and factories and

mines had been destroyed by the interventionists and White Guards. The enemy had seized fuel and raw-material sources, but the working class had retained the main enterprises and been able to get them operational so as to provide the front with the necessary supplies.

Changes were also taking place in the socio-economic structure of the village: the middle peasants continued to grow in number while the number of kulaks dropped from 15 per cent (before the revolution) to 3-4 per cent of the total peasant population.

But at the same time agriculture showed certain negative phenomena. The small-scale farms, whose quantity had increased significantly after the revolution, were not able to compensate for the reduction in commodity production that resulted from the liquidation of the landlords' estates (which had previously produced more than one-fifth of the marketable grain) and for the considerable reduction in kulak grain production, which had previously accounted for 50 per cent of the marketable grain.

Despite the enormous difficulties imposed by the war the Soviet Government was developing collective forms of farming. State farms (sovkhoz) were set up and the first collective farms made their appearance in the form of communes, artels, and associations for joint land cultivation. The Council of People's Commissars set up a special fund from which the government made allocations and loans to these organisations and to individual peasants that had come together for the purpose of jointly working the land.

By 1920 there were more than 10,000 of these collectives. But being comprised chiefly of poor peasants and therefore having a very weak material base, they played no important role in the overall agricultural production.

The preconditions did not as yet exist for the replacement of individual peasant farms by collective farms. A long time was required for the peasant to be convinced of the advantages of collective farming. Furthermore, in a backward country ravaged by war the necessary technological base did not exist for the development of large-scale, socialist agricultural production.

Though mobilising all the country's resources and manpower for defence, the Soviet state showed great concern for the work-

ing people. In 1919 Lenin said that *"the primary task in a ruined country is to save the working people. The primary productive force of human society as a whole, is the workers, the working people.* If they survive, we shall save and restore *everything."*[1]

The Code of Labour Laws, which was adopted in December 1918, established the eight-hour working day, annual paid holidays for each year worked and full insurance at state expense against disability. Equal pay for women was made law and safety measures were introduced into the factories.

Of course, during the Civil War the Soviet Government was forced to go back on some of these new labour laws. The working day had to be lengthened, holidays shortened and youths from 14 to 16 allowed to work. But this was all temporary and the result of exceptional circumstances. The Party and the government did everything possible to make things easier for the workers, particularly the young workers, at the factories. Thus, for example, the working day for youths from 14 to 16 years old was limited to 4 hours.

The organs of Soviet power also did everything possible to improve the material and living conditions of the workers. This included a number of measures taken to improve housing. Private ownership of property was abolished in the towns and all buildings that cost more or brought in profits higher than those established by the state were made into state property. Between 1918 and 1920 the overwhelming majority of the workers were moved from the attics and cellars they had occupied in the slums to the better appointed apartments of the bourgeoisie, the higher civil servants and other non-working elements for which they paid a low government-established rent.

Free medical aid was introduced. Considerable resources were allotted for the care of children with food and clothing being provided for them and children's refectories and boarding schools being organised.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "First All-Russia Congress on Adult Education, May 6-19, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, 1965, p. 364.

Despite the difficulties caused by the war the broad masses of the working people were encouraged to participate in state government. Every year the All-Russia Congress of Soviets, the highest organ of state power in the country, was held. At the same time republican congresses of Soviets were called in the Ukraine, Byelorussia and in the autonomous republics that formed part of the RSFSR, while congresses of Soviets took place in the various smaller administrative districts as did elections to the urban and rural Soviets.

The Soviets carried out their functions under the guidance of the Communist Party. In 1919 Communists formed 90 per cent of all deputies serving on the executive committees of the provincial Soviets and the majority of deputies at the town, district and regional Soviets were likewise Communists.

All citizens of the Republic who had reached 18 years were eligible to vote irrespective of their religious beliefs, nationality or way of life. But all those who made use of hired labour in the interests of personal profit, or lived on unearned income and all private traders and other exploitative elements were deprived of the right to vote. These, however, represented only a very insignificant percentage of the population.

The bitter struggle that was being conducted against the enemy made it necessary to set up emergency organs of power in the localities, known as revolutionary committees.

The revolutionary committees were the all-powerful organs of authority in the localities. They were set up chiefly in the front-line zones, in the areas that were under threat from the interventionists and White Guards and in the regions that had been liberated from enemy occupation. They were provisional organs and as soon as situation changed in favour of Soviet power, they were replaced by Soviets.

With the full support of the working people behind it the Soviet state dealt out severe punishment to spies, conspirators, terrorists and other enemies. But at the same time it was quick to deal with any violations of revolutionary legality.

But as Soviet power became stronger it was able to put limitations on the repressive measures taken against exploiters. Thus,

in early 1920 after the defeat of Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich a decision was passed on the initiative of Lenin to do away with the death penalty.

There were of course many shortcomings in the organisation and work of the Soviet state apparatus. Bureaucratism, red tape, parallelism and lack of coordination among the various ministries were not uncommon. But to a considerable extent these shortcomings were the result of petty-bourgeois influence as well as the low cultural level of the working people. Furthermore, there was the fact that, on the one hand, the Soviet apparatus was completely new, while, on the other, the former civil servants who had been re-employed by the Soviet Government often could not shake off their old habits.

These shortcomings in the state apparatus were subjected to merciless criticism by the Party and decisive steps were taken to do away with them. An important role in this respect was played by the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, whose work was carried out by the broad masses of the workers and peasants themselves. The representatives of the working people who had been elected at the plants and factories and in the country districts and villages exposed shortcomings in the work of state institutions and conducted a struggle against bureaucratism and other forms of abuse of power.

Great help in their organisational and educational work was also provided to the state organs by the mass public organisations like the trade unions and the Komsomol.

After the victory of the October Revolution a radical change occurred in the work of the trade unions. Their most important task now consisted in the building of a new society and in the education of the working people as the conscious builders of communism. During the Civil War the trade unions played a great role in building up the Soviet Armed Forces by sending tens of thousands of workers and trade union functionaries to enlist in the Red Army. The trade unions also performed a great service in their organisation of food detachments. They took an active part in the management of the nationalised enterprises and did a considerable amount of work in mobilising the resources of the industrial enterprises to help the front.

During the war years the trade unions tended to be centralised

on a military basis, which put severe limitations on their internal democracy. Membership of the trade unions was obligatory for all workers.

The Russian Young Communist League (Komsomol) was founded in October 1918. During the Civil War the organisation strengthened and became a formidable force. Its membership multiplied considerably. Thus at the time of the First Komsomol Congress (1918) the organisation had 22,100 members, while by the Third Congress in October 1920 its membership had risen to 400,000.

Under Party leadership the Komsomol members worked selflessly in the rear encouraging the worker and peasant youth to participate in the building of the Soviet state. Tens of thousands of these young Leninists fought in the ranks of the Red Army and in commemoration of the military services performed by them in the Civil War the Russian Young Communist League was awarded the Order of the Red Banner.

Successes in National-State Development

In the fires of the Civil War and in the struggle against the interventionists the friendship between the peoples of Soviet Russia was truly tried and strengthened, as they fought a common struggle for freedom, national independence and socialism. This struggle was led by the Russian people and its heroic proletariat and guided by the Communist Party. They gave military, economic and political aid to all the peoples of Russia, who made a great contribution to the struggle against intervention and counter-revolution. The other nationalities fought side by side with the Russian workers and peasants in the Red Army. The working people of the national regions that were temporarily under enemy occupation organised partisan detachments and revolts against their White-Guard and bourgeois nationalist rulers. The workers and peasants of the national regions also made a great contribution to the victory over the counter-revolutionaries through their labour efforts.

The military and political alliance between the peoples of Russia, which was formed during the Civil War years, played an

immense part in the victory over internal and external counter-revolution.

The revolutionary struggle of the working people in the national regions was conducted under the guidance of Communists. During the Civil War years Communist Parties had been formed in the national republics. Thus in summer 1918 the First Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party was held to be followed in December of the same year by the First Congress of the Communist Party of Byelorussia. Throughout 1920 Communist Parties were formed in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Subsequently the Communist Parties of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia became inseparable organic components of the single Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

As the national regions of Russia were cleared of interventionists and White Guards and Soviet power was restored or established for the first time, Soviet republics were formed. This happened in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Caucasus and Central Asia.

By the end of the Civil War there were six independent Soviet socialist republics on Russian soil (the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the Byelorussian SSR, the Azerbaijan SSR, the Armenian SSR and the Georgian SSR), two People's Soviet Republics (Bukhara and Khorezm) and the Far Eastern Republic. These republics were united by close fraternal relations that were given the force of law under special treaties.

All the Soviet socialist republics had their own organs of state government. The revolutionary gains of the working people were enshrined in the Constitutions of each individual Soviet socialist republic.

Thus the Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which was adopted by the Third All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets in March 1919, endorsed the independence and sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR and proclaimed unification with the other Soviet republics to be the unanimous will of the whole Ukrainian people.

The Byelorussian Constitution was adopted by the First Byelorussian Congress of Soviets in February 1919, while the Constitutions of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia were adopted between 1921 and 1922.

Radical revolutionary social and economic transformations began to be introduced into the Soviet national republics. These transformations varied, of course, according to the specific characteristics of the different regions, as did the time taken for their implementation. Thus, whereas in Central Russia private ownership of the land was done away with immediately after the revolution in 1917 and early 1918, in the Ukraine this process was not completed until late 1920 as a result of repeated enemy occupation. The same was true of nationalisation of industry which took until the end of 1920 to be completed in the Ukraine.

In Central Asia and Kazakhstan great attention was paid by the organs of Soviet power during the Civil War to putting right the disastrous results of the colonialist policies pursued under the tsars. Thus the First All-Kazakh Congress of Soviets (October 1920) made the point in its resolutions on the land question that it was necessary to eradicate "all vestiges of the colonialist policy of the tsarist government and redress all the injustices caused by it". The Ninth Congress of Soviets of the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (September 1920) similarly adopted a resolution on doing away with kulak resettlers' land holdings and handing over the confiscated land to the native population.

In Central Asia and Kazakhstan many of the economic and political privileges of the feudals were either completely done away with or severely limited. But even so, by the end of the Civil War they still retained positions of considerable influence, from which they were removed only much later.

A number of social and economic transformations were also introduced in Georgia and Armenia after the Civil War period in view of the fact that Soviet power was not victorious there until late 1920-early 1921.

National construction was a task of exceptional difficulty and complexity. The nationalities inhabiting Russia were at various stages of development. Thus, whereas in Central Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, parts of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia and some other regions capitalist relations already existed in one form or another before the Revolution, in the vast territories of the East the peoples had not yet entered the stage of capitalist

development and had no or almost no industrial proletariat. Then again national construction was made all the more difficult by the Civil War.

The varied conditions existing in the various parts of the country required that the Communist Party take strict account of the specific characteristics affecting the development of each nationality. Thus, according to specific conditions either autonomous republics (having broad political autonomy) or autonomous regions (in which political autonomy was more narrowly interpreted and largely confined to administrative functions) were set up.

A number of these autonomous republics and regions were formed within the Russian Federation. Thus, in March 1919 the Bashkir Autonomous Republic was proclaimed to be followed in 1920 by the proclamation of the Tatar, Kirghiz (Kazakh), Daghestan and Mountaineer Autonomous Soviet Republics. At the same time the Karelian Labour Commune, the Chuvash, Udmurt, Kalmyk and Mari Autonomous Regions and the Volga German Commune were set up.

National-state construction continued, but a tremendous amount of work still had to be done before nation-states could be formed for many of the nationalities that inhabited the Soviet Republic.

The Cultural Revolution

During the first years of Soviet power in Russia only an average of 319 persons in every thousand could read and write. Among the formerly oppressed and disfranchised peoples in the outlying regions illiteracy was almost one hundred per cent.

But the victory of the October Revolution and the advent of Soviet power changed all that. Education and learning were now made accessible to all the people of the country.

The Communist Party called upon the people, especially the youth, to study hard and work with stubbornness and persistence to assimilate the wealth of culture that mankind had created over the long centuries of its existence.

Millions of workers and peasants eagerly responded to this call, thirsting as they did for knowledge. "The working people,"

wrote Lenin, "are thirsting for knowledge because they need it to win. Nine out of ten of the working people have realised that knowledge is a weapon in their struggle for emancipation, that their failures are due to lack of education, and that now it is up to them really to give everyone access to education."[1]

The energy with which the ordinary people strove to attain education and learning made the task of cultural development much easier. But at the same time the hitherto unprecedented scale of this cultural undertaking caused considerable difficulties due to the lack of personnel and materials necessary for bringing culture to the masses.

A new education system was introduced by the Soviet Government to serve the interests of the people. Schools would now teach in the native language of the different peoples and education would be completely free.

Despite all difficulties the country's network of schools was steadily expanding. By 1921 thirteen thousand new schools had been opened and in the school year 1920/1921 the number of pupils attending schools in the country as a whole had risen to 9,212,000.

After certain initial hesitation the majority of teachers came firmly to the side of Soviet power and took an active part in the building of the new education system. At the same time a great deal of work was done to train new teachers. The number of teacher training institutes was increased. In the provinces and regions short-term courses were organised for the training and retraining of teachers.

The restructuring of higher education began, for it was upon this branch of the education system that the especially important task of creating a new intelligentsia fell. But it was here above all that the positions of the bourgeoisie were the strongest and therefore restructuring took some time to be effective. The professors at most of the higher educational establishments were largely opposed to Soviet power, while the students came primarily from the exploiter classes.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the First All-Russia Congress on Education, August 28, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 88.

Of great importance for the transformation of higher education were the changes made in the social composition of the student body. A Decree of the Council of People's Commissars (August 2, 1918) gave the working people and their children the right to enter any higher educational institution in the country, and here preference was given to the workers and the poor peasants. Scholarships and accommodation were provided by the state.

To speed up the proletarianisation of the student body and make it easier for the working people to acquire higher education, special workers' preparatory courses (*rabfaks*) were set up. They were attached to universities and institutes to prepare workers and peasants for entry into the institutes of higher learning. The majority of students attending the *rabfaks* were themselves workers and thus the *rabfaks* did much to train a new, proletarian intelligentsia.

Despite the extreme difficulties that obtained during the first years of Soviet power the number of higher educational establishments in the country increased significantly as compared with those before the First World War. Thus in 1920/21 there were 244 higher educational institutions as against only 91 in 1914/15. And during that same period the number of students grew from 125,000 to 207,000.

The teaching syllabuses were revised and restructured so as to bring teaching more in line with the requirements of the national economy. In the social sciences new syllabuses were written on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and methodology.

But the restructuring of the education system and the fact that education was now made accessible to workers and peasants were only part of the struggle for raising the cultural level of the people. An all-round programme of adult education was also introduced.

Of paramount importance was the eradication of illiteracy. Work on this began immediately after the October Revolution, but it was only after the publication of a Decree of the Council of People's Commissars on December 26, 1919 entitled "On the Eradication of Illiteracy in the RSFSR" that the campaign really got underway. The Decree proclaimed that "all the population of the Republic between 8 and 50 years of age unable to

read or write must undergo compulsory education in either their own native language or in Russian as they wish".

In 1920 the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for the Eradication of Illiteracy was set up. All the cultural forces in the country were applied to this one task. In towns and villages schools, circles, groups and centres were formed for the sole purpose of doing away with illiteracy. Work too was begun on developing alphabets for those peoples who as yet had none.

Immediately after the October Revolution the Soviet state launched a vast campaign for the cultural and political enlightenment of the working people. For this purpose the most diverse means were used. The institutions completely new to Russia were formed to help enlighten the masses such as workers' clubs, village reading-rooms, etc. Theatres, museums, libraries and cinemas were now made accessible to all and thus functioned as an important instrument in the cultural and political enlightenment of the working people.

The political education of the people, their mobilisation for the defeat of the enemy and the development of socialist construction were in large part made possible through the press. During the years of the Civil War the old, bourgeois press ceased publication. Some of the more counter-revolutionary papers were forcibly closed down, other bourgeois publications simply lost their readers who no longer believed in their lying, anti-Soviet propaganda.

The Soviet press quickly gained influence and prestige and its circulation grew steadily. In 1920 *Pravda* had a circulation of 250,000, *Izvestia*—350,000 and *Bednota*—570,000. The working people of the Soviet Republic had faith in the Bolshevik press. For them it was true to life, honest and made no attempt to conceal the difficulties facing the country, but on the contrary called upon the people to overcome them.

A lot of valuable educational work was done by the people's houses and clubs, where lectures were read, discussions held and plays performed and where the working people participated in various amateur talent and educational circles.

The libraries too played an important part in cultural and educational work. The old libraries, which were priceless treasure houses of cultural wealth, were opened for the benefit of the

working people, and a large number of new libraries were opened, whose main objective was to make reading matter readily available to the working people. Libraries were set up at workers' clubs, at the factories and plants and in the villages. During the Civil War the chain of libraries throughout the country grew considerably so that by 1920 there were some 34,000 libraries including village reading-rooms.

The village reading-rooms were the centre for educational work in the countryside and they functioned as reading-rooms, clubs and information bureaux rolled into one. They also served to organise various courses, excursions and performances. The village reading-rooms made it possible to carry out political and cultural work among the broadest sections of the peasant population.

The network fo museums too was vastly increased and they were made accessible to the working people. The theatres were nationalised and their doors likewise thrown open to the working public. The major theatres made special tours around the provinces visiting workers' clubs and rural localities. A great number of new theatres also sprang up mostly on the basis of amateur theatrical groups. These latter flourished particularly in the ranks of the Red Army.

The cultural and educational work that was done in the towns and villages was bound up with the task of politically educating the masses and raising their class consciousness. In this respect its chief function was on the one hand to wage uncompromising struggle against bourgeois ideology and against the exploitation of religious beliefs to the detriment of the interests of the people and, on the other, to strengthen socialist ideology and educate conscious and cultured builders of a new socialist society.

In order to integrate all the political, educational and propaganda work and ensure its correct political channelling a special state body, the Main Political and Educational Committee of the People's Commissariat for Education, was set up under N. K. Krupskaya.

A task of particular importance set by the Soviet state was the encouragement of scientists and specialists to participate in the building of a socialist society. From the earliest days of the October Revolution the foremost Russian scientists had actively de-

clared their readiness to participate in the building of a new life for the country. K. A. Timiryazev, for example, Russia's most outstanding botanist, who at the time of the Revolution was seventy-five years old, continued his work in a spirit of great enthusiasm for the new society and actively participated in the People's Commissariat for Education. Other great scientists like K. E. Tsiolkovsky, the founder of modern cosmonautics, I. P. Pavlov, the world famous physiologist, N. Ye. Zhukovsky, the founder of modern hydro-aerodynamics and V. I. Vernadsky, the famous natural scientist, geochemist and biochemist continued to work fruitfully for the new socialist society, as did the prominent chemists, L. A. Chugayev, N. D. Zelinsky and N. S. Kurnakov, the prominent biochemist, A. N. Bakh, the physicist D. S. Rozhdestvensky, the mathematician V. A. Steklov and many others. All these scientists had to work under considerable deprivations, in conditions of cold and hunger with poor equipment and without the kind of organisation necessary for the proper conduct of scientific work. But even under the most severe hardships and difficulties these scientists continued to work selflessly for the benefit of the country.

Many Soviet scientists greatly contributed to drawing up the GOELRO plan, the plan which Lenin called a superlative scientific labour.

Other works of enormous national economic importance that were carried out at the time by the Academy of Sciences' Commission included the study of the natural productive resources of Russia, the geological examination of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly and the discovery of new natural fuel deposits.

During these years a number of new scientific research institutes, including the Central Institute of Aero-Hydrodynamics and institutes of optics, physics and technology, were also set up to study problems related to the practical application of scientific developments within their respective fields.

In 1919 the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was formed.

Far from all the country's scientists, however, were ready to participate in socialist construction. Many representatives of the old bourgeois intelligentsia were opposed to Soviet power and the country's most important scientific centre, the Russian Academy of Sciences, had still not undergone the kind of restructuring

necessary for successfully tackling the new tasks that faced the country.

The October Revolution put literature and art at the service of the people. Many of the best writers and poets of Russia, men and women whose ties with the people were strong and who were true to the most progressive traditions of Russian literature, and many of the country's finest artists stood solidly behind the new Soviet system. Mayakovsky, Serafimovich, Blok, Bryusov, Novikov-Priboi and many others went forward with the Revolution and the people. The Civil War brought forth a whole new generation of writers like Furmanov, Svetlov and Tikhonov from Russia, Tychina from the Ukraine, Kupala from Byelorussia, Aini from Tadjikistan and many other representatives of the intelligentsia of the formerly oppressed peoples.

The works created by Soviet writers during those years laid the foundations for Soviet literature, which was based on the principles of socialist realism.

A tremendous role in the formation and development of the new Soviet literature was played by the great proletarian writer Maxim Gorky. With the active support and help of Lenin, Gorky did an enormous amount of work in consolidating the country's literary forces and the progressive intelligentsia as a whole.

During the Civil War years Soviet writers and poets were a source of active help to the people in their daily lives and in their struggle. Mayakovsky, for example, not only wrote full-length revolutionary works, but produced poems, posters, drawings and caricatures reflecting the events of those years, which were displayed on the streets for everyone to see. Demyan Bedny wrote verses and songs, whose militant lyrics played no small part in explaining to the Soviet people the tasks that lay before them. Then there were the great actors of the Maly and the Art theatres as well as the opera singers and ballet dancers from Moscow, Petrograd and Kiev who worked to keep the people's spirits up. But in those years there was as yet no genuinely artistic revolutionary repertoire. Only the first steps had been taken in this direction.

On Lenin's initiative a monumental propaganda campaign was launched. In the squares and streets of Moscow, Petrograd and other cities monuments to great revolutionaries, writers and

artists were erected and public buildings ornamented with bas-reliefs.

The art of poster painting was greatly developed during this period. Bright, colourful, militant posters were produced that called upon the Soviet people to fight the enemies of the revolution, to show bravery and steadfastness and to achieve new feats of labour.

Soviet culture developed in conditions of intense struggle with bourgeois ideology, the influence of which required a long time to overcome.

Serious damage to the development of Soviet culture at the time was done by the theory and practice of the "proletcult".[1] Its advocates propagated the theory of a "pure" proletarian culture, rejected the cultural heritage of the past and proclaimed their independence from the Party and Soviet leadership.

The Communist Party condemned the mistaken and harmful tendencies among the Proletcult leadership. In a speech to the Third Congress of the Komsomol on October 2, 1920, Lenin said: "The latter (proletarian culture—*Ed.)* is not clutched out of thin air; it is not an invention of those who call themselves experts in proletarian culture. That is all nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the logical development of the store of knowledge, mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist, landowner and bureaucratic society."[2]

The Historical Victory of the Soviet People in the Civil War

As a result of the victory over the combined forces of internal and external counter-revolution the world's first worker and peasant state was preserved and strengthened as a powerful bulwark

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[1] The Proletcult (an abbreviation for "proletarian culture") was the name given to an amalgamation of cultural and educational organisations, which appeared in September 1917. After the October Revolution the Proletcult was attached to the People's Commissariat for Education as a "voluntary organisation for proletarian amateur activity" in various fields of culture.

[2] V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues", *Collected Works,* Vol. 31, p. 287.

of peace throughout the world and as a base for the international revolutionary movement.

The working and exploited masses united behind the proletariat and selflessly went to the defence of the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The working class stood at the head of the rest of the working people and most of the peasantry. During the Civil War the Party forged a military and political alliance between the workers and the peasants, an alliance which proved to be of decisive importance in securing victory over the interventionists and White Guards.

The victory of the Soviet people showed the indestructible force of the new social system. International imperialism with all its limitless resources had been unable, despite all its efforts, to crush the Soviet Republic. Speaking of the sources from which the Soviet state drew its might, Lenin said: "A nation in which the majority of the workers and peasants realise, feel and see that they are fighting for their own Soviet power, for the rule of the working people, for the cause whose victory will ensure them and their children all the benefits of culture, of all that has been created by human labour—such a nation can never be vanquished."[1]

The war that the Soviet people fought to keep the great gains they had won through the socialist revolution and to ensure the freedom and independence of their homeland was a patriotic and a just war.

The fact that the Red Army soldiers were fully conscious of what they were fighting for meant that they maintained a high state of morale and military preparedness. In the bloody battles of the Civil War they showed steadfastness and heroism on a scale hitherto unknown and became a truly invincible army.

The working class in the rear suffered cold, hunger and economic dislocation, but they nevertheless managed to keep the defence industry running and set an example of conscientious labour.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Speech at a Meeting of the Railwaymen of the Moscow Junction, April 16, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 319.

The broad masses of the peasantry showed their loyalty to the Soviet system selflessly enduring all the hardships of war in the name of victory. Despite the destruction and havoc wrought by the war they managed to provide for the towns and the army the necessary minimum of supplies.

In the White Guard and interventionist rear the workers and peasants led by the Bolsheviks waged a constant struggle against the enemy. The Bolshevik underground and the partisan detachments together struck savage blows at the enemy rear, frustrated the plans of the White Guards and interventionists and made the Red Army advance much easier.

On the basis of Lenin's nationalities policy the Soviet Government united all the peoples of Russia around the Russian people. These peoples, who had been liberated from their former oppression and were now for the first time possessed of civil rights, joined together under the Soviet flag in their struggle against the interventionists and White Guards.

The defeat of the counter-revolutionaries was directed by the Communist Party. The Party defined and guided the policies of the Soviet state, mobilising the people in their just war and turning the country into an invincible military power. Finally, the Communist Party organised the military alliance between the workers and the peasants and the alliance of all the nationalities of Russia for the defence of the revolutionary gains.

The period of the Civil War and foreign military intervention saw the collapse of all the counter-revolutionary parties in Russia. The Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, the anarchists and the nationalists, who had all suffered defeat in the Revolution, now went openly over to the side of the interventionists and White Guards. They began to wage a criminal, anti-Soviet struggle and ultimately revealed themselves in the eyes of the people as counter-revolutionaries.

During this period the international proletariat led an effective struggle against imperialist aggression aimed against Soviet Russia and this was of considerable help to the Soviet people. The proletariat abroad organised mass revolutionary meetings and demonstrations demanding an end to intervention, held strikes in solidarity with the Soviet working class and disrupted supply of arms to the White Guards.

Many representatives of the international working class also came to Russia to take part in the struggle against the interventionists and White Guards. In a very brief space of time a large number of international brigades were formed of Hungarians, Czechs, Yugoslavs, Poles, Chinese and Koreans. They fought in hundreds of battles and to this day the memory of those fearless heroes who fell defending the October Revolution is honoured by the Soviet people.

The victorious struggle of the Soviet people with the forces of international reaction helped the working class in the capitalist countries in their struggle against their own bourgeoisie and increased their sympathy for the Russian proletariat as the most advanced contingent of the international proletariat. At the same time the successful struggle of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic against international imperialism had an immense influence on the development of the national liberation movement among the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries.

CHAPTER THREE

THE BEGINNING OF PEACEFUL SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. THE FORMATION OF THE USSR

1. THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

The Policy of Peaceful Coexistence

Defeat in the armed struggle forced the imperialists to change their tactics. Military intervention against the Soviet Republic now gave way to economic and diplomatic pressure, a change of policy which was further dictated by the situation in the capitalist countries themselves. The working people of Europe, America and Asia were becoming increasingly resolute in their opposition to any new attempts at intervention. Prolonging the war against the Soviet Republic was fraught with serious consequences for imperialist ruling circles. The continuing revolutionary upsurge in the major capitalist countries and the national liberation movement which was developing in the colonies meant that imperialism was no longer in a position to send its armies against Soviet Russia. Furthermore, in 1920-1921 the majority of the capitalist countries were in the grip of a hitherto unprecedented economic crisis. Industrial production in the West was sharply curtailed and unemployment grew. These economic difficulties forced the capitalist countries to look more favourably on the development of trade with Soviet Russia.

The international situation was now characterised by a certain equilibrium between the Soviet Republic and the capitalist states. The instability and contradictoriness of this equilibrium

affected the further development of international relations. Henceforth the imperialists tried to exploit every opportunity for intervention in the internal affairs of the Soviet state and halt the establishment of diplomatic and economic relations.

The Soviet Republic, guided, as it was, by the Leninist principles of foreign policy, led an active and consistent struggle to maintain and stabilise the peace that had been achieved after the Civil War. The Communist Party and the Soviet Government held to the fundamental belief that peaceful coexistence was possible between the two systems, socialist and capitalist. The question of peaceful coexistence became particularly relevant after the defeat of the interventionists and White Guards and the end of hostilities. In his speeches at the time Lenin developed the idea that peaceful coexistence was possible and that the establishment of political and economic ties between the Soviet state and the capitalist countries was desirable.

With the signing in 1920 and early 1921 of peace treaties with her western neighbours, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland and Poland, the Soviet state emerged from diplomatic isolation—a period in which practically no country in the world had diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republic. In February and March 1921 treaties were signed confirming the normalisation of relations that had actually begun somewhat earlier with the countries that lay on the southern borders of the Soviet Republic—Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. These treaties strengthened the international position of Soviet Russia which now had diplomatic relations with the majority of border states. The importance of these treaties also consisted in the fact that they demonstrated the fundamental difference between the policy of the Soviet state and that of the imperialists, who looked upon the countries of the East as an object for colonial expansion. They were the first treaties in history between a great power and the oriental countries that were based on the principles of full equality and respect for national independence and state sovereignty. The treaties also abrogated all the unequal agreements that had been concluded during the reign of the tsars and formalised the gratuitous transfer of concessions acquired by Russia.

Friendly relations were also established with Mongolia. These were endorsed in an agreement signed on November 5, 1921

and entitled: "On the Establishment of Friendly Relations Between Russia and Mongolia."

Thus by 1921 the only border states not to have diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia were Romania (finally concluded in 1934) and China, where the reactionary Peking government stubbornly refused to accept the Soviet proposal for the normalisation of relations between their two countries.

The major capitalist states, however, still held back from sending their ambassadors to Moscow, but some steps were taken towards the gradual normalisation of relations with the Soviet Republic. Thus, on March 16, 1921 a trade agreement was signed in London between Soviet Russia and Great Britain. This agreement also had a political character, signifying, as the British Prime Minister Lloyd George pointed out, Britain's virtual recognition of the Soviet Republic.

Thus, one of the major capitalist states that had organised military intervention against Soviet Russia was compelled to recognise her de facto existence and establish certain political and trade relations with her. This was of great international significance. Trade agreements were then concluded in 1921 and early 1922 with several other European states including Germany, Italy and Norway.

But at the same time most of the capitalist states continued to have no contact with Soviet Russia. These included all the countries of the American continent and most of the European countries, particularly France. The United States, the most powerful of the capitalist states, adopted a particularly hard line and it was to take another ten years before ruling circles in the USA would establish normal diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia.

But this could not detract from the main thing—peaceful coexistence had become a fact of life, economic and diplomatic blockades were over and the international position of the Soviet Republic was now immeasurably stronger. Soviet Russia was now able to concentrate its attention on the task of peaceful socialist construction.

The Difficulties Facing Soviet Russia at the Beginning of 1921

Crushing ruin, want and impoverishment, were the words Lenin used to characterise the economic situation in the Soviet republics at the end of the Civil War.[1] The losses borne by the national economy as the result of four years of imperialist war and a three-year Civil War against the interventionists and White Guards were nothing short of colossal. No country in the world in modern times had suffered such devastation. World imperialism had failed to destroy the Soviet Republic militarily, but it had wreaked tremendous economic damage, undermining the productive forces of the country and making the building of socialism thereby the more difficult. More than three-fourths of the country had been under enemy occupation and the regions that had been liberated from the interventionists and White Guards presented a terrible picture of devastation: mines were under water, bridges and railway stations destroyed, crops trampled and blast furnaces blown up. Normal economic contacts between one region and another, or between town and country had been disrupted, lathes and machinery had been worn down and almost no replacements made, and there was an acute shortage of agricultural equipment. The damage done by the intervention and the Civil War amounted to tens of billions of gold roubles. Human losses from 1914 to 1921 were in excess of 20 million.

The devastation affected all spheres of economic life. Industrial production in 1920 was seven times less than it had been in 1913. Particularly serious was the situation in large-scale industry. Sheet steel, pig iron, etc., were hardly being produced at all and it was the same situation with the production of lathes and steam-engines. The output of coal and oil was no more than it had been in the late 19th century. Transport was one of the most vulnerable of all spheres. There was such an acute shortage of rolling stock and rails that the railways could not cope with the transportation of food and raw materials, and passenger transport was reduced to a minimum.

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[1] See V. I. Lenin, "Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.), March 8-16, 1921", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, 1977, p. 265.

No less serious was the situation in agriculture. Sowing areas had been sharply reduced, yields fell and livestock suffered great losses. The total grain harvest in 1920 was a little more than it had been before the war. This made it impossible to feed the towns at a more or less normal level and caused shortages even in the villages themselves. The raw materials situation was extremely bad with the cotton harvest being 27 times less than before the war and of sugar beet almost 13 times less. The quantities of wool and leather reaching the towns declined considerably and in the villages there was an acute shortage of equipment with millions of ploughs, sickles and scythes being in very short supply.

The people were emaciated with hunger and exhausted through the war. For several years running they had lived at subsistence level. There were nowhere near enough clothes, footwear or medicine to go round. In the streets the lamps were out, the trams stood idle and the houses unheated.

Economic havoc led to political difficulties, which came to a head in the spring of 1921 with discontent growing among the ranks of the working class. The Russian proletariat that had won state power had undergone more deprivation and suffering than any other class. In leading the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the country, it was the working class that bore the greatest losses in the struggle with the interventionists and White Guards. But at the same time they began to be increasingly worn out by the hunger and devastation. Many left their jobs and went to the villages, others began to work as handicraftsmen on a private basis. The working class showed signs of becoming scattered and déclassé, and this weakened the class basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Those who remained at the factories became increasingly more discontented with the economic situation. And thus in the spring of 1921 the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries managed in a number of cities, particularly Moscow and Petrograd, to exploit the discontent of the workers and instigate strikes.

The main cause of this difficult political situation was the fact that the mass of the peasantry were discontented with the policy of war communism. They demanded an end to the grain requisitions and the free control of their surplus produce. This

discontent had grown by early 1921 as a result of the worsening economic situation in the countryside. The end of the war which removed the immediate threat that the landowners would return encouraged the peasants to be more decisive in their opposition to the forced grain requisitioning. The working peasantry were not against Soviet power, but their hesitations and doubts were exploited for counter-revolutionary purposes. Objectively, the peasant demonstrations were part of the kulak uprisings for they were controlled by the kulaks and their leaders, the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

In so far as they understood the mood of the petty-bourgeois strata the counter-revolutionary organisations of Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks did not as a rule openly demand the overthrow of Soviet power when engineering their revolts. They tended to declare that they were standing for "Soviets without Communists", for "democracy" or for "free trade". In fact, of course, these rebellions were led by out-and-out counter-revolutionaries who were aiming to restore the old order. This attempt to conceal their ultimate objectives marked a new development in the tactics of the class enemy.

The most serious of all the counter-revolutionary uprisings was the Kronstadt mutiny in March 1921. By means of demagogic speeches about struggle for "the power of the Soviets and not of parties" the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and White Guards who organised the rebellion exploited the petty-bourgeois fluctuations of the unstable elements among the sailors, many of whom were peasants only recently conscripted.

The Kronstadt mutiny represented a serious threat to Soviet power, since it was organised and supported by imperialist circles in the United States, Britain and France.

Urgent measures had to be taken by the Soviet Government, to put down the revolt. A group of delegates to the Tenth Party Congress as well as hundreds of Communists from different towns were immediately dispatched to Kronstadt and after the legendary storming of the fortress[1] the mutiny was crushed.

[1] The storming of the fortress of Kronstadt lasted more than twenty-four hours, during which the Red Army was forced to attack across the ice-bound Gulf of Finland under constant fire from the forts and mutinous ships.

The difficulties which the country was undergoing also caused waverings among some of the more unstable members of the Communist Party and led to the formation of factions within the Party ranks. This became particularly evident in the extremely heated debates on the nature of the trade unions in late 1920-early 1921.

The very appearance of these different factions, all with their own programmes,[1] testified to the danger that was threatening Party unity.

Trotsky, who opposed methods of persuasion in favour of compulsion and directives from above, insisted that industry should increasingly be run on military lines, and that military discipline be introduced into the trade unions. His demand that the trade unions be made directly subordinate to the state would have led essentially to their liquidation and thus to a weakening of the links between the Party and the non-party masses. The ultimate result would have been the undermining of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin looked upon the trade unions as the school of communism, the school in which the broad working masses were educated and trained to run state affairs. His differences with Trotsky amounted, as Lenin himself noted, to a different approach to the mass, a different way of winning it over and keeping in touch with it.[2]

At the same time Lenin was sharply critical of the platform of the other factions. He showed that the anarcho-syndicalist proposals of the "Workers' Opposition" to subordinate the state to the trade unions amounted in practice to a denial of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the Party.

Although the opposition was defeated in the overwhelming majority of Party organisations and the Party as a whole followed Lenin, the dispute was a cause for concern and one that showed the need for decisive measures to be taken to ensure Party

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[1] These included the Trotskyites, who initiated the debates, the "Workers' Opposition", the "Democratic Centralists" and Bukharin's "buffer" group.

[2] See V. I. Lenin, "The Trade Unions, the Present Situation and Trotsky's Mistakes", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 22.

unity and purge the Party of all wavering, petty-bourgeois elements.

Economic devastation and political difficulties demanded the adoption of a new economic and political line. Such a line was defined by the Party and became subsequently known as the New Economic Policy (NEP).

The Tenth Party Congress. The Replacement of Grain Surplus Requisitioning by Tax in Kind

Agriculture had to be the starting point for the struggle against economic devastation, for without food and raw materials the restoration of industry would be impossible. And to overcome the political difficulties the primary need was to satisfy the peasantry, whose discontent was assuming alarming proportions. This meant that the peasantry had to be given the economic stimuli to develop their farming. In other words it was necessary to determine the economic forms of alliance with the peasantry, in so far as with the end of the war it became clear that the military and political alliance had to all intents and purposes become obsolete. But such new forms could not be found immediately.

The quest for a new economic policy became an issue at the Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which was held in late December 1920. The whole agenda of this congress was devoted to the peaceful building of socialism. On hearing a report from G. M. Krzhizhanovsky the congress approved the state plan for the electrification of Russia (GOELRO), which not only envisaged the rehabilitation of the national economy, but also looked forward ten to fifteen years to the country's substantial economic development. On the basis of electrification (30 major power stations were planned) the plan provided for industrial output growth of from 1.8 to 2 times over the 1913 level.

Lenin attached immense importance to electrification seeing it as the essential prerequisite for building the material and technical base of socialism and communism. For this reason he referred to the GOELRO plan as the Party's "second pro-

gramme", saying that *"Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country"*.[1]

The congress also instituted an Order of the Red Banner of Labour to encourage individual citizens and collectives who had distinguished themselves through their contribution to the economy.

A decree entitled "On Measures to Strengthen and Develop Peasant Agriculture" contained a mixture of old and new approaches to the peasantry. In particular it introduced a system of financial rewards to individual peasants for increasing their output, which testified to the search for forms of economic stimulus for the peasantry.

But by early 1921 the position in the country had worsened. The grain surplus requisitions became increasingly difficult to gather and kulak revolts were on the increase. The need for measures to ease relations with the peasantry was becoming increasingly urgent. In late 1920-early 1921 Lenin personally received peasant delegations and individual peasants and what they had to say helped him better understand the mood of the peasantry.

On February 8, 1921 Lenin wrote "Rough Draft of the Theses Concerning the Peasants". This was the first document to set out the replacement of grain surplus requisitioning by a tax. A draft resolution, compiled on the basis of Lenin's theses, was presented to the Tenth Party Congress. The importance of this congress (held on March 8-16, 1921) consists primarily in the fact that it marked the historical change from war communism to the New Economic Policy. The adopted resolution, entitled "On the Replacement of Grain Surplus Requisitioning by a Tax in Kind", was the first and the most decisive step in the implementation of this change.

Great attention was given at the congress to inner-Party matters. The appearance on the eve of the congress of various factions and groupings made the task of strengthening Party unity particularly urgent, for disunity among the Party would have jeopardised its leading role in the struggle for the building of

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, December 22-29, 1920", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 516.

socialism. A special resolution "On Party Unity" emphasised the harm and danger of factionalism and ordered that all factions and caucuses should be disbanded.

The New Economic Policy

Immediately after the Tenth Party Congress the Soviet Government issued a number of decrees giving the force of law to the New Economic Policy. The Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR set the scale for the tax in kind on bread, butter, wool and other agricultural and animal products. In comparison with the food surplus requisitions the new tax was much reduced (by 50 per cent in the case of grain and potatoes and by almost 75 per cent in the case of meat). At the same time the free trade in agricultural products was also permitted. Similar decrees were passed by the governments of the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

With the introduction of NEP in spring 1921 there began a significant restructuring of the management of the national economy. The rigid centralisation of raw material supplies and of the distribution of manufactured goods that had been enforced during the Civil War was abolished and economic trusts were set up to amalgamate plants and factories on a sectoral or geographical basis. A system of precise economic accounting known as *Khozraschet* was introduced into plants and factories and this helped to increase the initiative of the economic organs and combat waste and inefficiency. Equal pay for everyone was now considered obsolete and workers began to be paid according to their qualifications and output. This raised their material incentives and stimulated labour productivity. Whereas during the Civil War payment in kind according to ration coupons was the chief form of remuneration to office and industrial workers, now under NEP wages began to be paid once again in money. By early 1922 the rationing system had been completely abandoned.

While strengthening and restructuring state industry the Soviet Government permitted a certain amount of development in the private sphere. In industry this took several forms with small private enterprises springing up (with the number of workers at first being limited to 20), many small-scale enterprises that belonged

to the state being leased to private entrepreneurs, foreign concessions being permitted and joint-stock companies being formed (with the participation of state or cooperative organisations as well as private capital).

In the sphere of trade and commerce certain restrictions were lifted to allow the development of the private sector. Peasants, handicraftsmen, artisans and small entrepreneurs were allowed to trade freely in the products of their labour. In the towns and the villages trade began to flourish and a host of small stalls, cafes, shops and restaurants began to spring up.

At the same time state and cooperative trade also began to develop. At first, of course, the retail market, particularly in the villages, was dominated by private traders, but the state and cooperative enterprises held key positions in the wholesale trade, having control over most of the nation's output.

Given the inevitable development of market relations and money circulation Lenin stated the need for the all-round strengthening of state and cooperative trade and for assimilation of the principles of business accounting and the art of trading.

The development of trade and commodity-money relations meant that important changes had to be made in financial policy. Transport, postal and public-utilities charges which had been abolished at the end of the Civil War were reintroduced.

Thus, the New Economic Policy outlined the ways for strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

The task of the proletariat consisted in guiding the transition of petty commodity producers to collective labour. But this could not be achieved in a short space of time; it had to be done gradually. It was necessary to find forms of alliance with the smallholders during the transition from capitalism to socialism. The alliance between the working class and the peasantry had to rest on a sound economic basis and for this the peasant had to be economically interested, economically satisfied and given an economic stimulus.

The introduction of a tax in kind was precisely what was needed. As a petty producer the peasant was able to dispose of his surplus produce through trading and thereby expand his holding. This suited the economic conditions of his existence and provided a material incentive which in turn made it possible to set

the economic alliance between the workers and the peasants on a firm basis.

Of course, the restoration of free trade unavoidably led to the growth of capitalist elements in the towns and villages and a serious and bitter struggle lay ahead against the forces of capitalism. This was a life-and-death struggle, a struggle to show which system would prove triumphant. But the forces of socialism were already more powerful than the forces of capitalism and in the end they were bound to emerge victorious. The workers' state had control of the land, the factories, transport and foreign trade, and thus its political power was combined with control of the commanding heights of the economy.

The proletarian state at a certain stage of its development was using the bourgeoisie to restore and develop its productive forces. But this restoration of necessity took place in conditions of acute struggle. The Soviet state intended to keep private capital under close supervision and control, while private capital, on the other hand, was striving to strengthen and expand its positions. It was this that lay at the root of the ensuing bitter struggle.

The desperate resistance put up by the exploiters during the Civil War years made it necessary for the Soviet state to take the capitalist positions in the economy by storm, the result of which was a number of important victories for socialism. But the policy of storming had its negative consequences. "We went," Lenin said, "much further forward in the political and military period than the purely economic aspect of the alliance of the workers and peasants permitted us to do. We had to do this in order to defeat the enemy ... but we suffered a series of defeats in the economic field."[1]

It was now necessary to give up the methods used previously and execute a temporary retreat. This retreat consisted primarily in the fact that the capitalist elements in the town and countryside were now able to take back some of their economic positions.

NEP signified a slower, but a more stable and reliable step forward.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, December 23-28, 1921", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 159.

But NEP had a broad historical perspective. Retreat was only part of the policy. After temporary retreat the socialist forces would regroup and once more launch a decisive offensive in which the final battles with capitalism would be fought in industry, commerce and agriculture.

2. THE FIRST SUCCESSES IN RESTORING THE ECONOMY

Strengthening the Soviet State

The end of the war and the ensuing peace made it possible to increase the role of planning in the national economy. To this end in February 1921 the Council of People's Commissars formed a State Planning Committee (Gosplan), presided over by G. M. Krzhizhanovsky. The functions of the State Planning Committee were to complete current economic plans and draw up an integral long-term plan for the state on the basis of the GOELRO plan.

The New Economic Policy was warmly welcomed by the broad masses of the working peasantry who actively supported the Soviet state in its struggle against the kulak bands, all of which were finally destroyed between 1921 and 1922. Already by the summer of 1921 Red Army units had wiped out Antonov's bandits in the Tambov region, while Makhno had fled abroad after being defeated. The gangs of White Guards that had been infiltrated across the border from the west, north-west and south were also crushed. In autumn 1922 the White Guard armies in the Far East were also completely destroyed while the Japanese interventionists were hurriedly withdrawn. Thus all Soviet territory was liberated from the interventionists and White Guards.

The end of the Civil War and the transition to peaceful socialist construction made it possible to attract the working people on a greater scale into the state government.

At the same time tens of thousands of industrial workers, peasants and office workers were encouraged to participate in the work of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. This organisa-

tion was set up not only to combat burcaucracy and shortcomings in the state apparatus, but also to involve more and more working people in government and economic management.

The trade unions also began to expand their activities as a result of the restoration of voluntary membership in 1922. This had been compulsory during the years of the Civil War when all industrial and office workers had to be members of a trade union.

New methods of drawing the working people, particularly women, into social and political life appeared and became increasingly put into practice.

The experience accumulated by the Soviet state during the first years of its existence made it possible to form a harmonious system which gave legal expression to and exercised control over socio-economic relations as they stood in society. To this end a codification of the laws was carried out and in autumn 1922 the All-Russia Central Executive Committee approved a new Code of Labour Laws, which formalised the achievements of Soviet power in protecting the rights of industrial and office workers; a Code of Land Laws, which legalised new relations in the countryside that had formed as a result of the agrarian revolution; and Civil and Criminal codes.

To strengthen revolutionary law and order the Soviet Government set up the Procurator's office, instituted the bar and conducted a reform of the courts. In spring 1922 the Cheka was disbanded and its functions in combating counter-revolution, espionage, and banditry and in protecting the country's borders were handed over to the State Political Directorate which was set up under the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs.

An immense amount of work was done to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Communist Party. The need for qualitative improvement in its membership required special attention. In 1921 a purge of the Party was carried out according to a decision of the Tenth Party Congress and almost 25 per cent of the entire Party membership were expelled. This purge substantially increased the social homogeneity of the Party and strengthened its unity and prestige.

The work that was begun to overcome the effects of the devastation caused by the war took place amid conditions of extreme difficulty.

In the summer of 1921 the country was hit by a natural disaster—a drought of an unprecedented scale which affected the most important agricultural regions of Soviet Russia. On the Volga, in the left-bank Ukraine and in the Northern Caucasus, the Urals, Kazakhstan and Central Russia crops failed and the lives of some 30 million peasants were directly threatened. But it was not only meteorological conditions that made this crop failure so serious. Many of the stricken regions had been devastated during the war and the intervention.

Then again the war had disrupted the national economy and threatened the whole country with ruin. There was not enough manpower, draught animals or tools, seeds were in short supply, their quality was poor and there was a lack of the necessary fertilizer—all of which seriously weakened the position of the peasant farmer when faced in addition with natural calamities.

The restoration of agriculture became a task of immense proportions and complexity. First and foremost was the need to save the peasants from dying of starvation by supplying food to the stricken regions and providing seed grain for sowing.

The whole nation rose to fight this terrible calamity. The campaign was coordinated by the Central Famine Relief Commission, which was headed by M. I. Kalinin, Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.

Food and money poured into the stricken regions from all over the country. These voluntary donations made by the rest of the Soviet people amounted to some 11 million poods of food and a considerable sum of money. The state dispatched millions of poods of bread, potatoes and other foodstuffs to the starving and provided the peasants with grain fodder for their animals. More than 30,000 refectories were set up in the stricken regions providing food for 12,500,000 peasants.

The 1922 harvest, however, was a good one and with it there came a turning point in the position of agriculture. Henceforth the process of restoration became more stable and successful. The

most difficult times were over. From 1923 onwards the sowing areas in Soviet Russia began to steadily increase.

But the struggle against the famine and its aftereffects was of tremendous importance. The aid to the starving which had been provided by the state and the Soviet people had been energetic, well organised and conducted on a vast scale. It made it possible to save millions of people from starvation and vast areas of the country from complete ruination.

The Beginning of the Restoration of Industry

The restoration of industry went ahead with considerable success. In 1921-1922 increases were already noticeable in the production of fabrics, footwear, matches, soap, sugar, paper and other consumer goods.

Coal output, particularly in the country's main mining areas, the Donbas, was up, as was oil production in Baku and the manufacture of agricultural machinery. By the end of 1922 the railways were more or less back to normal and trains were back in operation all over the country.

Power stations were being built as outlined in the GOELRO plan and by 1922 the first ones were already opened at Kashira and near Petrograd.

The working class showed the same spirit of self-sacrifice as they had during the Civil War. By sheer physical labour the workers often made up for the lack of material resources. They sawed timber and dug peat thereby saving the factories from stoppages. The workers frequently gave up their week ends to lay in stocks of fuel or repair equipment, etc.

New attitudes to labour were initiated by the workers. At individual enterprises in the Donbas, the Urals, Petrograd, Tula and other industrial centres the first groups of shock workers had begun to appear by 1921. These shock workers set themselves the task of achieving particularly high levels of labour productivity and were continually thinking up new ways of rationalising production.

Production conferences began to be held at the plants and

factories at which the workers could examine the various stages of production, show up shortcomings and search for ways to improve labour organisation.

The ranks of the working class were continually expanding because those workers who had earlier left the towns because of the food shortages were coming back, young townsfolk were joining the working class and young peasants were leaving the countryside to become industrial workers in the towns.

But against this background of general economic improvement specific difficulties began to appear and these became particularly acute in the autumn of 1923. Having by now largely overcome the disastrous consequences of devastation and drought, agricultural production was beginning to increase with the result that the prices of farm products were down. The restoration of industry, however, took much longer for considerable expenditure was needed to get the factories and plants back into working order. The dilapidated equipment and lack of skilled workers held up the growth of labour productivity and increased production costs which made the prices of industrial goods high.

Thus, a sirable gap emerged between industrial and agricultural prices, and the peasants were forced to cut down their purchases of industrial goods even though they were badly in need of them.

To overcome this crisis the Soviet Government took a number of steps. In late 1923-early 1924 the prices of industrial goods were reduced. Particularly large were the price cuts made on wool and cotton fabrics and agricultural machinery. At the same time the purchase prices of agricultural and animal products were raised. The peasants were given opportunities for low-interest credit and the struggle to strengthen Soviet trade led to reductions in general overheads. The overall improvement in commerce was further aided by the formation of the People's Commissariat for Internal Trade.

In February 1924 the government introduced monetary reform. The devaluation of currency was brought to a halt and the rouble was made stable.

As trade increased the crisis was overcome and the ties between town and country were consolidated.

The Strengthening of the International Position of the Soviet Republic

For a fairly long time the capitalist states were successful in effecting the diplomatic isolation of Soviet Russia and keeping her out of international conferences. But the defeat of the interventionist and White Guard armies, the improvement of the internal situation in the country and the gradual development of Russia's economic and diplomatic relations with other states made it impossible to continue with this policy. In January 1922 the Supreme Council of the Entente adopted a resolution on the initiative of Great Britain to call an international conference in Genoa. The declared aim of the conference was to examine questions relating to economic recovery of Central and Eastern Europe, and an official invitation to participate in the conference was sent to the Soviet Government. This was the first time that Soviet representatives were invited to take part in a broad international forum together with the leaders of the major capitalist countries.

The Soviet Government accepted the invitation and sent a delegation to Genoa which included G. V. Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and an expert on international problems, L. B. Krasin, People's Commissar for Foreign Trade and a member of the Party since 1980, and M. M. Litvinov, a prominent Soviet diplomat.

All the Soviet republics empowered the RSFSR delegation to represent them at the conference and prominent political figures from the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and the other republics were also included in the delegation.

Lenin attached considerable importance to the conference and was kept daily informed of the work of the Soviet delegation. He drew up a clear programme for its guidance which outlined the efforts to be made for the establishment and development of economic relations between Soviet Russia and the capitalist countries. The delegation was empowered to make a number of mutually advantageous proposals to the capitalist countries, but Lenin insisted that all negotiations and agreements should be based on complete equality and that nothing should be done that might in the slightest way be detrimental to the independence of the

Soviet state. He instructed the delegates not to fear threats from the leaders of the Western countries and not to accept disadvantageous agreements. On his initiative Soviet Russia put forward a programme for universal reduction of armaments.

Thirty-four countries, most of which were European, took part in the Genoa Conference (April 10-May 19 1922). Although the United States did not send a delegation, it nevertheless exerted a considerable negative influence on the course of the talks through its ambassador in Italy.

The line of the Western powers became clear from the very first days of the conference. A memorandum handed to the Soviet delegation demanded repayment of the debts incurred by the tsarist and the Provisional governments. It was also suggested that the Soviet Government make reparations to foreign citizens that had suffered losses through nationalisation, relinquish its monopoly of foreign trade, alter its judicial system and establish favourable special terms for foreigners living in Soviet Russia.

All these demands were completely unacceptable. They were tantamount to violations of the sovereignty of the Soviet state, intervention into its internal affairs and the economic enslavement of the country.

But though the Soviet Government categorically rejected these demands it nevertheless agreed to the discussion of a number of concrete issues. It declared, in particular, its readiness to honour the pre-war debts (on the condition that reparations were made to Soviet Russia for the damage caused by the intervention) and to offer concessions to foreign capitalists.

These proposals could have provided an acceptable basis for the satisfaction of mutual claims and the development of business contacts. But during the course of the talks it became clear that the leaders of the bourgeois countries were not out to make the conference a success. They even refused to discuss Soviet proposals for arms reductions and continued to insist on their own demands. The conference ended without producing any practical results. Despite the resumption of the talks in June-July of the same year in the Hague (the conference lasted 35 days), nothing further came out of them because Western powers stubbornly stuck to their conditions.

But despite the fact that the Genoa and Hague conferences

produced no practical results, their historical importance was great. The very fact that the Soviet Republic had been invited to an international conference was itself a great step forward. It testified to the impossibility of pursuing a policy aimed at the diplomatic isolation of Soviet Russia. The Genoa and Hague conferences showed that the capitalists could no longer bring pressure to bear on the Soviet Republic and that no success could be expected from attempts to treat that country as anything but an equal.

As distinct from the capitalist countries the Soviet Republic had shown its desire to develop economic ties and establish business contacts with the West.

The proclamation of a broad, clear and realistic programme for strengthening peace and reducing armaments showed that the Soviet Republic was a champion of peace and of the interests of the working people of all countries.

During the Genoa Conference the Soviet delegation did have successful talks with the German representatives. As a result, on April 16, 1922 G. V. Chicherin and German Foreign Minister Rathenau signed a Soviet-German treaty at Rapallo near Genoa. This treaty, which is known in history as the Rapallo Treaty, provided for the renewal of diplomatic and consular relations between the RSFSR and Germany. Germany furthermore renounced all claims arising from the nationalisation of the property of German citizens in Russia and in economic relations both countries accorded each other most favoured nation status.

The normalisation of relations between the Soviet state and the capitalist countries took place slowly and amid much tension. The imperialists made new attempts to exacerbate relations through the organisation of anti-Soviet propaganda and the threat of military invasion. These policies became particularly clear during the course of the Lausanne Conference (November 1922-July 1923), which was called to conclude a peace with Turkey and find a settlement for the situation in the Middle East. As the host countries, Britain, France and Italy only permitted a Soviet delegation to consider the question of control of the Black Sea straits. The convention on the straits as proposed by the Entente allowed the warships of all countries to pass freely through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. This meant that Western

countries with their powerful fleets could enter the Black Sea to threaten the states there, particularly the Soviet Republics. For this reason the Soviet Government took no part in the Lausanne convention.

At the same time the British Government made a number of attempts to violate the sovereign rights of the Soviet Republic. (They demanded the freeing of British spies that had been tried in the USSR and the return of British trawlers that had violated Soviet territorial waters.) Despite the fact that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs expressed readiness to enter into discussion over contentious issues the British Government chose to aggravate the situation. In a memorandum of May 8, 1923 the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon accused the Soviet Government of allegedly pursuing anti-British policies in the East and in the language of an ultimatum issued a number of unacceptable demands. These demands required a formal apology from the Soviet Government, the recall of Soviet representatives in Iran and Afghanistan and the reduction of the Soviet coastal zone.

Curzon's ultimatum was an encouragement to all anti-Soviet forces. The bourgeois press launched an anti-Soviet campaign and in Britain military preparations were begun. In Lausanne the general secretary of the Soviet delegation, the prominent diplomat and writer, V. V. Vorovsky, was assassinated by White Guards.

The Soviet Government rejected Curzon's memorandum, describing his accusations as groundless and stressing that the use of ultimatums and threats could not help settle misunderstandings between nations. This resolute position adopted by the Soviet Government was firmly supported by the working people of the Soviet Republic. At numerous meetings and demonstrations (in Moscow, for example, more than 500,000 protested against the Curzon's ultimatum) the working people expressed their indignation at the provocative acts of the imperialists.

But Curzon's aggressive posturing also aroused the protest of the working people in the capitalist countries, particularly in Britain itself. As a result the British Government was forced to yield and in June of the same year it declared the whole correspondence connected with Curzon's ultimatum to be at an end.

3. THE FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The Soviet Republics on the Eve of Unification

Between 1917 and 1922 four independent Soviet socialist republics had been succesfully formed. They were the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the Byelorussian SSR and the Transcaucasian SFSR.

The largest of these republics was the RSFSR. It occupied an area of more than 20 million square kilometres and had a population of approximately 100 million. It included 10 autonomous Soviet socialist republics and 11 autonomous national regions.[1]

Some 80 per cent of the population were Russians. It had the highly developed industrial regions (including Moscow, Petrograd, the central provinces and the Urals), where the majority of the Russian working class were concentrated. But the overwhelming majority of the RSFSR's population were engaged in agriculture.

The formation of the Soviet autonomous republics and autonomous regions within the RSFSR made it possible to bring all the backward masses of the working people into political life and tie them more closely to the workers in the proletarian centres, thereby strengthening the Soviet state.

The administrative division of the peoples of the RSFSR according to nationality and on the basis of Soviet autonomy made the RSFSR a model multinational socialist state.

The second largest socialist republic after the RSFSR was the Ukraine. It occupied a territory of some 460,000 square kilometres and had a population of 26.3 million, 72.5 per cent of whom were Ukrainians.

Approximately 81 per cent of the Ukrainian population were

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[1] The autonomous Soviet socialist republics were: the Turkestan, the Tatar, the Bashkir, The Crimean, the Kirghiz (Kazakh), the Daghestan, the Yakut, the Mountaineer, the Karelian Labour Commune (made an autonomous republic in 1923) and the Volga German Labour Commune.

The autonomous regions were: the Chuvash, the Mari, the Udmurt, the Komi-Zyryansk, the Kalmyk, the Adygei, the Kabardin-Balkar, the Chechen, the Karachai-Circassian, the Buryat and the Oirot.

engaged in agriculture, but at the same time the republic had a number of major industrial centres. The Donbas and Krivoi Rog had enormous iron-ore and coalfields which before the First World War produced 78 per cent of the country's coal and 69 per cent of its pig iron. The Ukrainian proletariat was one of the most powerful contingents of the working class in the Soviet Republic.

Byelorussia in 1922 had a territory of some 52,000 square kilometres and a population of 1,531,000, the overwhelming majority of whom were engaged in agriculture. Here the proletariat was very much in the minority.

In the interests of strengthening Soviet power, achieving national peace and coordinating the building of socialism the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic was formed in 1922 as an amalgamation of the three Transcaucasian republics —Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia.

The Georgian Soviet Republic included the Abkhasian and Adzhar autonomous Soviet socialist republics and the South-Ossetian Autonomous Region. The Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic as a whole occupied a territory of 190,000 square kilometres and had a population of 5,635,000.[1]

The Transcaucasian republics were agrarian with vestiges of patriarchal and feudal relations. Part of the population of Azerbaijan led a semi-nomadic existence, while industry in Transcaucasia as a whole tended to be primitive. The only major industrial centre in the whole region was Baku.

In Central Asia at the time there was the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the two People's Soviet Republics of Khorezm and Bukhara, which in 1920 had replaced the despotic Khanate of Khiva and the Emirate of Bukhara.

In 1920 and 1921 the RSFSR concluded treaties of alliance

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[1] The territorial and population sizes of the individual republics were as follows:

Armenia—34,500 square kilometres with a population of 1,399,000, some 85 per cent of whom were Armenians;

Azerbaijan—89,500 square kilometres with a population of 2,135,000, some 60 per cent of whom were Azerbaijanis;

Georgia—66,000 square kilometres with a population of 2,140,000, some 74 per cent of whom were Georgians.

with the Soviet republics of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. These treaties established fraternal relations between the various nations in respect of military, diplomatic and economic activity. All the treaties ensured equality between the nations, preserved the independence of the contracting parties and provided for joint defence against external enemies.

The socialist republics voluntarily united their armed forces, heavy industry, finance, transport, postal and telegraph communications under the control of the highest state organs of the RSFSR. The Ukraine and Byelorussia also united their foreign trade with that of the RSFSR. All the republics were represented on the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and participated in the work of the All-Russia congresses of Soviets.

Relations between the RSFSR and the People's Soviet Republics of Khorezm and Bukhara, which were similarly based on treaties of alliance and special economic agreements, did not, however, envisage unification of their state organs.

In the struggle against the economic and political pressure of the imperialist powers the Soviet republics formed a united diplomatic front before the Genoa Conference in early 1922.

Thus, genuinely fraternal relations were formed between the Soviet republics based on a community of interests and a unity of aims. These relations were built on a mutual basis with each republic making its contribution to the common cause, helping the other republics and being helped by them. Of particular importance was the political, economic and cultural aid given by the Russian people to the other Soviet peoples. All the republics made use of the experience of the RSFSR in political, economic and cultural development. The RSFSR, as the most powerful and economically developed republic, did everything it could to help the other republics restore their economies and develop their culture.

The major industrial and scientific centres of the RSFSR sent specialists, skilled workers and party and Soviet officials to help the republics build a new life, train qualified personnel of their own and build up their industry and science. And as they restored their economies the republics in their turn were able to provide Central Russia with increasing amounts of raw materials, fuel and food.

This mutual aid and cooperation between the republics helped to restore the national economy as a whole and strengthen friendship between the different Soviet peoples. The formerly oppressed peoples began increasingly to trust the Russian working class as the leading force in their multinational country.

The peoples of the Soviet Republic increasingly began to recognise the vital necessity of forming a single union state.

The Need to Form a Single Union State

The threat of military intervention and economic isolation which the imperialists held over the Soviet Republics demanded stable unity in the foreign policy of all the republics and the strengthening of the country's defence capabilities.

The unification of the Soviet republics into a single union state was essential to the interests of successful economic construction. It was only possible to develop the country's productive forces if the different socialist republics unified their efforts and resources in an integral economic system and utilised them according to a common national-economic plan.

Of particular importance was the fact that an historically formed specialisation and economic division of labour existed between the different regions of the country.[1] The presence of such a division of labour and the ties between the various regions and republics facilitated mutual aid and economic exchange between them. Without this it would have been impossible to overcome the ruination that had struck the country and develop a socialist economy.

This creative cooperation was particularly important for those peoples of Russia, which had to make the leap from precapitalist social and economic forms to socialism. They could not successfully build a socialist economy and culture without uniting their efforts with the efforts of all the other peoples of the Soviet Republic.

[1] Thus, European Russia produced machinery and textiles and the South and the East provided cotton, while timber for the South came from the North and oil and coal for the whole country came from the South.

But it was not only a matter of state unification being necessary, the real conditions for such unification did exist. Its unshakeable foundation was provided by the socialist economic structure, which played a leading role in the economic development of the country. Social ownership of the means of production unlike private ownership unites people and brings nations together. The socialist economy created a unity of economic interests for all the Soviet peoples and thereby welded them together more closely.

The most essential and decisive political condition for the unification of and fraternal cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet republics within the framework of a single union state was the dictatorship of the proletariat as expressed through Soviet power. Being itself international, Soviet power guaranteed all nations the free development which promoted their unification.

The transition to peaceful socialist construction required the unification of all the Soviet republics. The GOELRO plan was a single economic plan, a plan for the socialist reconstruction of the national economy for all the national republics, and could only be implemented through their joint efforts. It was essential to create a single, planned socialist economy and integral economic and planning organs in all the republics.

The treaties concluded between the various independent republics and the RSFSR played a great role in strengthening cooperation between the Soviet peoples. But these treaties were not adequate to meet the new situation, for they could not provide for the necessary degree of economic unity that was essential if all resources were to be put to the socialist transformation of the economy. The treaties concluded in 1920-1921 similarly did not provide for the formation of federative legislative and executive organs of state power.

All this made it essential to form a single union Soviet state. Already by late 1921 and particularly early 1922 the movement for unification was strengthening among the Soviet republics. This movement covered broad masses of the working people of all nationalities. It was headed by the Communist Party which, under Lenin's guidance, organised and inspired the indissoluble state union of Soviet republics.

Preparations for the Unification of the Socialist Republics into the USSR. Lenin—the Founder of the USSR

The question of state unification was moved in the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) by the party organisations of the Ukraine and Transcaucasia in the summer of 1922. In August of that year a commission was set up of representatives of the Party Central Committee and the Communist Parties of the republics under the chairmanship of V. V. Kuibyshev to prepare for the unification of the individual republics into a single union state and find a form for it which would accord with the interests of the Soviet peoples and guarantee the national development of each nation.

The draft project of the commission, which was drawn up by Stalin,[1] was sent to the Central Committees of the national Communist Parties. It envisaged the inclusion of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia as autonomous republics in the RSFSR and the maintenance of the treaty relations with the People's Soviet Republics of Bukhara and Khorezm and the Far Eastern Republic. The draft has become known in history as the "autonomisation plan". It reflected the views not only of the members of the commission, but also of many party and Soviet workers who proceeded from the experience of national-state construction in the Russian Federation.

On September 23-24 the commission approved the "autonomisation plan" as a basis for further measures.

Lenin, however, who did not take part in the discussion due to ill health, recommended after careful study of the draft that the idea of "autonomisation" should be dropped. In a letter to the members of the Politburo of the Party Central Committee on September 26, 1922, he proposed a fundamentally different form for the unification of the independent republics, which he described as ". . .another *new storey*, a federation of *equal* republics".[2]

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[1] In April 1922, following the 11th R.C.P.(B.) Congress, J. V. Stalin was elected General Secretary of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee.

[2] V. I. Lenin, "On the Establishment of the USSR", *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, 1971, p. 422.

He stressed that the republics should be united into a new state formation to be called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which included the RSFSR on an equal basis with all the other independent republics. Lenin discussed the question of the formation of the USSR with the members of the Politburo and made a number of suggestions on the organisation of the Central Executive Committee of the new Soviet state and other institutions that would be authoritative within the state as a whole.

Lenin's draft for the unification of the Soviet republics was adopted at a Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee on October 6, 1922. Lenin's suggestions for the unification of the Soviet republics were met with the warm support and approval of their working people.

On December 10, the Seventh All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets declared in favour of the formation of the USSR and elected a plenipotentiary delegation to the Constituent Congress of Soviets of the USSR.

Between October and December, 1922 meetings at all levels (including plenary sessions of the Central Committees, sessions of the local party committees and executive committees of the Soviets, meetings of the Party and trade union organisations and assemblies of the workers) were held in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, all of which unanimously welcomed Lenin's idea of the formation of a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and passed resolutions that their own republics should enter the USSR through the Transcaucasian Federation.

On December 10 the First Congress of Soviets of Transcaucasia passed a resolution that the Transcaucasian Federation should be included in the USSR. The congress also considered it essential that a general congress of Soviets of the USSR be called and elected a delegation to attend that congress.

The numerous meetings of workers and peasants of Byelorussia similarly gave their unanimous approval to the decision to form the USSR and to the entry of Byelorussia in that single union state. On December 14, 1922 the Fourth All-Byelorussia Congress of Soviets passed a resolution in fulfillment of the express wishes of the workers and peasants of Byelorussia that the Byelorussian Soviet Republic should be included in the new union of republics, the USSR.

Thus in the Ukraine, Transcaucasia and Byelorussia millions of workers and peasants showed themselves to be unanimously in favour of the formation of the USSR.

At the Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which opened on December 23, 1922 and which considered the resolutions adopted by the three republics, a delegation was elected to attend the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR. This delegation was empowered to sign a treaty on the formation of the USSR in the name of the Russian Federation.

In the morning of December 30, 1922 the plenipotentiary delegations of the Soviet socialist republics gathered together to sign a treaty on the formation of the USSR. In the evening of the same day the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR was officially opened. It was attended by 2,215 delegates representing all the nationalities of the socialist republics.

The congress elected Lenin as its honorary chairman, though he himself did not attend due to ill health.

The speech of welcome addressed to Lenin stated: "The Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in beginning its work sends illustrious greetings to Comrade Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the honorary chairman of the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR and the leader of the world proletariat."

The congress recognised the necessity of uniting all the independent socialist republics in a single union state and ratified the Declaration and Treaty on the formation of the USSR. With due regard for Lenin's recommendations that the question of unification should not be hastily decided upon, the congress passed the matter on for supplementary consideration by the Central Executive Committees of the Union republics. The congress authorised the next session of the All-Union Central Executive Committee to hear the final word from all the Union republics and then to approve the text of the Declaration and the Treaty of the Union and enact it.

Thus acting in accordance with the will of the people, the All-Union Congress of Soviets founded a new, multinational socialist state of a type hitherto unknown in world history—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In his closing speech at the First All-Union Congress of Soviets M. I. Kalinin said: "Whole

millennia have passed since the finest human minds began to struggle with the theoretical problem of how to create a society in which people might live in peace and friendship without great suffering and without mutual conflict. Only now, today, have the first steps been taken in this direction."[1]

The First Constitution of the USSR

After the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR work began on developing the state apparatus of the new state and on drawing up a new Constitution on the basis of the Declaration and Treaty of the Union that had been adopted by the congress.

In fulfillment of Lenin's instructions the Communist Party made careful preparations for a Constitution of the USSR. On the suggestion of the Party Central Committee the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR set up in January 1923 a Constitutional Commission formed from representatives of the Central Executive Committees of the Union republics.

Important guidelines for the elaboration of the USSR Constitution were also made at the Twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which was held in April 1923. The Congress recommended forming the central organs of the Union in such a way as to guarantee equality of rights and duties for all the individual republics both in their relations with each other and in their relations with the central authorities of the Union.

Each delegation to the congress was familiarised with Lenin's letter "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation' ", which he had dictated on December 30, 1922, that is the day on which the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR was opened. As a result, a number of important changes were introduced into the resolution of the Congress and a number of supplements were added in accordance with Lenin's guidelines. It was specifically stressed that the USSR could only be preserved and strengthened through a decisive struggle by the Party against all manifestations of

[1] M. I. Kalinin, *Articles and Speeches (1919-1935)*, Moscow, 1936, p. 95 (in Russian).

great-power chauvinism and local nationalism, the former being recognised by the Congress as the gravest danger. In June 1923 the commission under the chairmanship of M. I. Kalinin adopted the draft Constitution as a basis, which was then put up for discussion in the Union republics.

The sessions of the Central Executive Committees of the Transcaucasian Federation, the Ukraine and Byelorussia unanimously approved the draft Constitution of the URSS, after which on July 6, 1923 the 2nd Session of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR also gave its approval to the draft Constitution and decreed that it he enforced immediately and finally ratified by the Second Congress of Soviets of the USSR.

As the new Constitution of the USSR came into force the first Union government endorsed by the session and since then known as the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR headed by Lenin took up its function.

The bodies which made up the new Council included the people's commissariats for foreign affairs, defence, foreign trade, railways, post office and telegraph, workers' and peasants' inspection, labour, food, finance and the Supreme Council of the National Economy. In the interests of enforcing revolutionary law throughout the USSR and uniting all the forces of the Union republics in the struggle against counter-revolution a Supreme Court (attached to the Central Executive Committee) and a Unified State Political Directorate (OGPU) attached to the Council of People's Commissars were instituted. The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR was made a permanent working body. The chairmanship of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR was held in turn by the chairmen of the Central Executive Committees of the Union republics: Kalinin, Petrovsky, Narimanov and Chervyakov.

On July 13, 1923 the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR in an address "To All Peoples and Governments of the World on the Occasion of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" proclaimed the formation of a single Soviet union state on one-sixth of the Earth's land area. "This union state," it said in the address, "which was based upon fraternal cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet republics, has set itself the aim of maintaining peace with all

peoples. Henceforth these equal nations of the USSR will go forward hand in hand to work for the mutual development of their cultures, the mutual improvement of their living standards and the mutual implementation of the tasks linked with the exercise of power by the working people. A natural ally of oppressed peoples, the USSR backs the interests of the world's working people."

On January 31, 1924 the Second Congress of Soviets ratified the first Constitution of the USSR formalising the establishment of a single union state. The Constitution was a further step from the Declaration and Treaty on the formation of the USSR, adopted by the First Congress of Soviets.

The Constitution of the USSR—the constitution of the state of the dictatorship of the working class, a state of a new type—was the Constitution of the most genuinely democratic and advanced society in the history of the world. It gave the force of law to the full juridical equality of all the peoples that comprised the state, endorsed their sovereignty and ensured the equality of rights and duties for all peoples of the USSR.

The Constitution of the USSR established the voluntary character of the unification of equal peoples, guaranteed each Union republic the right of secession from the USSR and made entry into the USSR available for all existing and newly formed Soviet socialist republics.

The USSR took upon itself the defence of the sovereign rights of the Union republics. The rights and status of the Union republics were comprehensively set out in the Constitution. The Union republics could make any laws, in so far as this right was not limited by the Constitution of the USSR; the territory of the Union republics could not be changed without their agreement; and a uniform federal citizenship was established so that a citizen of any republic was automatically a citizen of the USSR.

The Soviet multinational state, which was created on the basis of the equality and friendship of its peoples, harmoniously combined the sovereignty of the Union as a whole with the sovereignty of the Union republics. In this way they mutually supplemented and strengthened each other. The Central Executive Committee of the USSR consisted of two equal chambers—the Soviet

of the Union, elected at the all-Union congress from all the delegates to the congress, and the Soviet of Nationalities, formed from representatives of the republics and national regions. A bicameral system was necessary so as to serve better the needs and requirements of the peoples in the course of socialist construction. In the multinational Soviet state it ensured the active participation of the working people of all nationalities in the building of socialist society.

The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a direct continuation of the cause of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, and was the practical embodiment of Lenin's idea of a voluntary union of free nations. The very formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was of world historical importance, for it showed that only a socialist revolution could bring about the close unity of all national forces under the leadership of the working class so as to put an end to the system of capitalist exploitation and national oppression at one stroke.

The voluntary unification of the Soviet republics into the USSR gave the peoples of that country far better opportunities for building a new life and for upholding the interests of peace, freedom and national independence throughout the world. Dictated by the objective course of historical development and implemented under the leadership of the Communist Party, this unification promoted the rapid concentration of all the material and labour resources of the state and aided the joint struggle of the working people to overcome the ruination caused by the war and build as quickly as possible the material and technical basis of socialism. The formation of the Soviet Union was one of the decisive factors favouring the restructuring of society on socialist principles, the raising of the economic and cultural level of all the Soviet republics and the strengthening of the defence capabilities and international position of the new multinational state of the working people.

For the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world the USSR was the model of a multinational socialist state. And at the same time it provided a bulwark for all progressive mankind in its struggle for peace, democracy and socialism and in its fight for liberation from imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

The formation of the USSR considerably increased the power of attraction of the Soviet state in the eyes of the proletariat in the West and the oppressed nations in the East, and thereby accelerated the course of world history.

4. THE USSR AT THE END OF THE RESTORATION PERIOD

Lenin's Plan for Building Socialism

Since he became head of state in October 1917 Lenin had worked unceasingly to guide the Party and the people. The scope and importance of this work were on a scale that was truly gigantic. But even for such an unusually strong and energetic man like Lenin there was a limit to the capabilities of his endurance, and in 1922 he became seriously ill.

Even so, from December 1922 until March 1923 Lenin dictated a number of letters and articles including: "Letter to the Congress", "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'", "Pages from a Diary", "On Co-Operation", "Our Revolution", "How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection" and "Better Fewer, But Better". These documents became, in effect, Lenin's political behest to the Party. Fully integrated in thought, they raised the theory of Marxism to new heights on the basis of the experience gained from building socialism in the USSR. Furthermore they provided a comprehensive programme for subsequent party work and thereby completed Lenin's plan for the building of socialism in the Soviet Union. All the various aspects of this plan—industrialisation, overcoming technological and economic backwardness, the collectivisation of agriculture and the cultural revolution—were once more dealt with here.

Lenin called upon the country to work indefatigably for the building of the foundations of a socialist economy, for the development of heavy industry, for the implementation of the electrification plan and for the building of the material and technical basis of socialism. To give point to his words he used the following image: "Shall we," he declared, "speaking figuratively, be able to change horses, from the peasant, muzhik horse of poverty, from the horse of an economy designed for a ruined peasant

country, to the horse which the proletariat is seeking and must seek—the horse of large-scale machine industry, of electrification, of the Volkhov Power Station, etc."[1]

In his last articles, particularly the one entitled "On Co-Operation", Lenin completed his doctrine on the role of cooperation in a society of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has subsequently been known as Lenin's cooperative plan. This plan is still of immense importance for all countries that have entered the road of socialism.

Lenin gave a comprehensive definition of cooperation as the socialist way for gradually transforming small-scale commodity production through simplest forms of cooperation involving at first joint marketing of products and then joint land cultivation leading to the voluntary unification of the peasants in the collective farms. This, he said, would take "a whole historical epoch... At best we can achieve this in one or two decades."[2]

His analysis of the experience gained by the Soviet Government in the five years it had exercised guidance over cultural development, led him to form an integral theory of cultural revolution. His articles "Pages from a Diary", "On Co-Operation", and "Our Revolution" set out the main tasks, analysed the content and formulated the laws of this revolution as an integral component of the socialist revolution and of all the great socialist transformations of the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This cultural revolution was only possible, Lenin showed, after the seizure of power by the proletariat, which alone could provide the necessary conditions for a genuine cultural uplifting of the masses. He emphasized that the cultural revolution was a long and complex process, for only the effective participation of all the population under the guidance of the socialist state and the Communist Party could bring about its success.

In his article "Better Fewer, But Better" Lenin considered the important problems raised by the building of socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement and by the danger of future conflict with the capitalist states. He noted that the outcome of

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Better Fewer, But Better", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 501.

[2] V. I. Lenin, "On Co-Operation", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 470.

this conflict in the final analysis depended on the overwhelming majority of the Earth's population being "drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured."[1]

Lenin's last articles also set out the conditions on which the success of building socialism in the USSR depended. The primary condition was consolidating the leading role of the Party and maintaining it as a monolithic force. For this reason Lenin was so concerned to strengthen the unity of the Party and its Central Committee in conditions when, as he foresaw, further intensification of the struggle with capitalist encirclement was inevitable. He suggested that steps should be taken to strengthen and consolidate the leading nucleus of the Party and expand its Central Committee by bringing in the finest representatives of the working class.

To this end Lenin put forward a plan to set up a unified body to handle two mutually related tasks: the first being the preservation of Party unity and the struggle against any manifestation of factionalism or infringement of party discipline; the second being the comprehensive improvement of the Soviet state apparatus.

Finally, in an article entitled "Our Revolution" Lenin laid down his fundamental behest to the Party—to develop Marxist theory, to enrich it with new practical experience, new conclusions and fresh analyses, and then firmly adhere to creative Marxism, leading an uncompromising struggle against all forms of opportunism, revisionism and dogmatism.

Lenin knew that a monolithic and united Communist Party, armed with Marxist theory and constantly developing that theory was invincible. Upon this Lenin based his unshakeable conviction in the ultimate victory of the Party and of the cause of socialism in the USSR.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Better Fewer, But Better", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 500.

It was with the intention of implementing the programme of action outlined by Lenin in his last articles and letters that the 12th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the first Party Congress since the October Revolution at which Lenin had not participated, was held in April 1923.

The Party Congress began by fully endorsing Lenin's views set out in a letter dated December 13, 1922 and entitled "Re The Monopoly of Foreign Trade" in which he had insisted on a decisive struggle against capitulationary suggestions that the state monopoly of foreign trade should be relaxed or done away with completely. It noted in a resolution on the Central Committee report that "the Congress emphatically reaffirms the unshakeable nature of the monopoly of foreign trade and the impermissibility of attempts to side-step it".[1]

The Congress went on to decisively reject the attempts of Trotsky to foist upon the Party his own, anti-Leninist, anti-Party ideas for the subsequent development of industry. It particularly opposed his slogan "the dictatorship of industry", which in fact amounted to building up industry through exploiting agriculture. In accordance with Lenin's ideas the Congress noted that "the development of industry alone creates a firm foundation for the dictatorship of the proletariat" stressing at the same time that any attempt to solve the problems posed by the development of industry by disregarding the needs of agriculture was "fraught with innumerable dangers both in economics and politics, for it would inevitably undermine and weaken... the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry".[2]

The need to thoroughly strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the foundations upon which Soviet power was based, was met in a resolution passed by the Congress and entitled "On Agricultural Taxation". This resolution did away with all the numerous forms of taxes that were imposed upon the peasantry and introduced a single agricultural tax, thereby simplifying the whole taxation system in the countryside.

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[1] *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 2, p. 404.

[2] Ibid., p. 411.

The Congress fully approved Lenin's plan for amalgamating the Central Control Commission (a Party organ) with the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (an organ of the Soviet state).

Finally the 12th Party Congress also carried out Lenin's proposal to increase the membership of the Central Committee. After the 11th Party Congress the Central Committee had consisted of 27 members and 19 alternate members; these were now increased to 40 and 47 respectively.

The Defeat of the Trotskyite Opposition

Taking advantage of Lenin's serious illness the Trotskyites launched yet another offensive against the Party in the autumn of 1923. With the support of such remnants as existed of other anti-Party factions they struck out against the Party line on all radical matters of inner-Party structure and its economic policy. The Trotskyites disseminated anti-Party literature, refused to carry out Party decisions, engaged in factional strife and insisted on freedom of action for factions and caucuses within the party, thereby jeopardising the very unity of the party itself.

But the discussion that lasted from November 1923 to January 1924 and that had been foisted upon the party by the Trotskyites resulted in their complete defeat with only 1.3 per cent of the Party membership voting for them.

The results of this discussion were analysed at the January 1924 plenary meeting of the Central Committee, which gave a resounding condemnation of the Trotskyite opposition and called upon the Party to fight decisively against Trotskyism. The victory over the opposition was consolidated at the 13th Party Conference (January 16-18, 1924). The Conference noted in its resolution that "we see before us in the present opposition not only an attempt to revise Bolshevism, not only a direct departure from Leninism, but a clearly expressed *petty-bourgeois deviation*. There can be no doubt that this opposition is an objective reflection of petty-bourgeois encroachments on the position of the proletarian party and its policy."[1]

[1] *The CPSU in Resolutions . . .*, Vol. 2, p. 511.

The Death of V. I. Lenin and the Lenin Enrollment into the Party

On January 21, 1924 at 18.50 hours Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the organiser and leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, died at the age of 53.

Lenin's death was a tragic loss both for the peoples of the Soviet Union and for all progressive mankind. Even at that time the incalculable contribution he made to the revolutionary renewal of the world, which was only just beginning, and the stature he achieved as a statesman of a completely new type, whose like had never been seen in human history, were recognised throughout the world.

In the person of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the leader of world proletariat, all the finest qualities of the Russian working class, the most advanced class in Russia, which had taken power in its own hands in October 1917, found their fullest expression. This was forcefully and clearly stated in the address entitled "To the Party and to All the Working People", which was adopted by the extraordinary plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee on January 22, 1924: "All that is truly great and heroic in the proletariat—its fearlessness, its iron, inflexible, stubborn and all-conquering will, its mortal hatred of slavery and oppression, its revolutionary passion which could move mountains, its limitless faith in the creative force of the masses and its immense genius for organisation—all this found magnificent embodiment in the person of Lenin, whose name has become throughout the four corners of the globe the symbol of a new world."[1]

On January 26, 1924 the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets was held. From the rostrum of the Congress the Central Committee members and representatives of the international proletariat, the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia, all called for unity and solidarity with the Communist Party and for the full implementation of Lenin's behests.

These thoughts on unity, solidarity and the ultimate victory of communism were also echoed in the address of the Congress entitled "To the Working People of the World".

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[1] Ibid., p. 534.

The Congress finally adopted a resolution to immortalize the memory of Lenin, declaring January 21 to be a day of mourning throughout the Soviet Union. A complete edition of Lenin's works was to be published, a Mausoleum was to be erected in his honour and henceforth the city of Petrograd was to be renamed Leningrad.

For a period of four days (January 23-27) an unending stream filed past Lenin's body as it lay in state in the Hall of Columns of the House of Trade Unions to bid farewell to their leader.

On Sunday January 27 Lenin's funeral was held in Red Square. As part of the funeral five minutes of silence were held during which all work ceased throughout the Soviet Union while the people honoured the memory of their leader. An artillery salute and factory and train whistles proclaimed the event to the world. To the sound of a valedictory salute the coffin bearing Lenin's body was placed in a special Mausoleum by the Kremlin Wall.[1]

In those sad days when the people expressed their boundless grief there was a powerful surge among the working class to join Lenin's party, the Communist Party. At the various meetings that were held all over the country to mourn Lenin's death tens of thousands of workers applied for party membership so as in some way to compensate for the loss they had so tragically suffered by their solidarity with the party. To meet this spontaneous desire among the people a plenary session of the Central Committee meeting in the last days of January 1924 adopted a resolution entitled "On Worker Entry into the Party". This mass entry by the workers into the Communist Party has become known in history as the Lenin Enrollment. Under the Lenin Enrollment more than 240,000 workers from the factories, the finest representatives of the working class, joined the Party.[2] As a result of the Lenin Enrollment the proportion of workers in the Party was increased from 44.9 per cent (in 1923) to 55.4 per cent by May of 1924. The Komsomol was also considerably increased as

[1] The Mausoleum on Red Square was at first made of wood, but in 1930 it was replaced by a new Mausoleum faced in marble and granite.

[2] For every thousand metal workers 144 joined the Party. The figures for transport workers and miners were 108 and 68 respectively.

a result of the Lenin Enrollment with 150,000 young men and women joining it and 25,000 going up into the Party. At the Sixth Congress of the Komsomol (July 1924) it was decided to rename the Komsomol from the Russian Young Communist League, as it had been, to the Russian Leninist Young Communist League.

Lenin's name was also bestowed upon the children's Pioneer organisation, which had been formed earlier in 1922.

Four months after Lenin's death in May 1924 the 13th Congress of the Communist Party was held. The slogan of the Congress was the struggle to put Lenin's ideas into practice. In two resolutions, entitled "On Cooperation" and "On Work in the Countryside" concrete ways and means were set out for implementing Lenin's cooperative plan. Basing itself upon what Lenin had said of the role and importance of heavy industry for the building of socialism, the Congress set as its immediate objective the acceleration of the development of socialist industry and particularly overcoming the backwardness of the metallurgical industry.

The 13th Party Congress affirmed the resolution of the 13th Party Conference condemning Trotskyism as a petty-bourgeois deviation in the Party.

Economic Growth. New Forms of Labour Activity for the Working Class

Industrial production in 1925 was the highest since 1921, but it was still only 75.5 per cent of the 1913 level. By 1926, however, it exceeded the pre-war level by 8.1 per cent.

The plan for the electrification of the country was going ahead successfully. Between 1925 and 1926 the output of electrical energy was more than 50 per cent higher than it had been in 1913.

Then the restoration of industry further aided the training of skilled industrial workers in the main sectors. The total number of workers engaged in large- and medium-scale industry reached approximately 90 per cent of the 1913 level. In this way the process of forming the main work force of the industrial proletariat was largely completed.

The socialised sector in industry (which belonged to the state and the cooperatives) was now overwhelmingly predominant. During the years 1925-1926 they owned 82.7 per cent of industrial premises and produced 96 per cent of gross output in large- and medium-scale industry. The working class was concentrated almost exclusively within the socialised sector.

Private capital was concentrated chiefly in small-scale and light industry. It existed mostly in state-capitalist forms on premises rented by the state or under state concessions, that is to say, those very forms which the proletarian state found it easiest to exercise control over.

In this way the restoration and development of industry in the USSR was carried out for the first time in history on a socialist basis. It was in the socialist sector of industry that the action of the new laws of development—the main economic law of socialism and the law of planned proportional development—also first made their appearance. The whole course of the restoration of Soviet industry was carried out under socialist planning and a single national economic plan. From 1921 to 1925 after the formation of the State Planning Commission not only was considerable experience accumulated in formulating current production plans for each economic year, but some success was also achieved in long-term planning.

Economic restoration went ahead successfully in all the national republics too, though there it had its own distinctive characteristics. In most of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, in parts of Transcaucasia and in many of the autonomous republics and regions of the RSFSR industry was at a very low level. In many cases the peoples of these republics and regions had not yet passed through the stage of capitalist development, and some of the peoples, particularly those of the North, were still at the patriarchal and tribal stage.

The distribution of industry throughout the USSR, which had remained largely unchanged since before the Revolution, could not in conditions of restoration be altered. There was, however, a slight quantitative growth in the industrial work force of the national republics, but it was as yet insignificant. So far only the very first steps had been taken towards forming a national working class particularly in the Soviet East.

Immense economic and political aid to the national republics was provided by the Union Government. Vast resources were allocated from the Union budget for restoration work and for the building of power stations and irrigation projects in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Machinery, equipment and skilled workers were sent from the RSFSR and the other Soviet republics. The main industrial centres of the country provided new technology for the nascent industry of Central Asia. Thus, the enormous aid provided by the RSFSR and the other Soviet republics to each other helped to ensure the country's economic restoration.

By the end of the restoration period socialist industry showed not only a rapid quantitative growth but was also marked by certain qualitative changes. These were the result of the appearance and development of a number of new industries: tractor building, automobile manufacture and the production of textile machinery.

The new role of the working class in production, in society and in the state, and its development into a governing class, was a dominant characteristic of the restoration period in industry. Owing to its position within the system of social production the working class was the only socialist class at the time and the only bearer of socialist production relations. It was largely due to its enthusiasm and readiness for self-sacrifice that the restoration of the national economy was carried out so quickly.

By the end of the restoration period when industry was already advancing, when more and more skilled workers were being employed and when their standards of living were beginning to improve[1], a stable foundation had been laid for the development of new and higher forms of labour activity. These were clearly to be seen in the work of the production conferences at the enterprises, which began to operate towards the end of 1923. At the appeal of the Party the working class bent every effort to reduce the costs of production and raise the productivity of labour.

The work of the production conferences increased in 1924 when as a result of the Lenin Enrollment the finest representatives of

[1] By 1925 wages in heavy industry had risen to 96.6 per cent of their pre-war level, while in light industry they had already exceeded this level.

the working class flooded into the Party. The production conferences and their participation in production management were a forceful demonstration of the new role of the working class, which was a characteristic only of socialist production. They played an important role in improving all the work of the industrial enterprises, in increasing worker rationalisation and invention, in training new managerial staff and in organising the mass training of skilled workers. Many of the production conferences initiated the drive to voluntarily increase output quotas and raise labour productivity.

Social and Economic Development in the Countryside

By 1925 the sowing area in the countryside was almost equivalent (99.3 per cent) to the pre-war 1913 level. The grain yield remained low, but the good harvest of 1925 brought about an increase in the gross yield which exceeded the annual average yield for the five years from 1909 to 1913.

Agriculture was largely restored on the basis of individual peasant small holdings and remained fragmentary and lacked social homogeneity. Property inequality among the various social groups in the countryside (the poor peasants, the middle peasants and the kulaks) began to increase under NEP which encouraged trade. A certain degree of polarisation took place with the kulaks at one end becoming stronger and the poor peasants at the other becoming proletarianised as they fell into bondage to the kulaks, or swelled the ranks of the hired labourers or left the countryside altogether to search for work in the towns.

But the stratification of the peasantry in conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat had certain distinctive features of a fundamental nature. The nationalisation of the land and the fact that the land could neither be owned privately nor bought and sold made it impossible for the kulaks to concentrate this basic means of agricultural production in their own hands and ensured that it was retained by the small peasant holdings. Land was less the cause of stratification among the peasantry than trade and the numbers of livestock and agricultural equipment held. The Soviet Government pursued a policy of limiting the exploitative tendencies of the kulaks and provided great support for

the poor peasants. As a result, the socio-economic processes that took place among the peasantry, acquired new features. The kulak upper crust was prevented from getting too strong and the poor peasants from becoming too weak. The middle peasants were no longer being eroded (as was the case under capitalist development in the countryside), but on the contrary increasing and growing stronger.

But at the same time, inequality still remained in the villages and even somewhat increased. And this gave rise to an acute class struggle among the peasantry. The kulaks increased their sowing area through leasing land from the poor peasants and adopted a number of exploitative measures including the renting out of farm equipment and horses at exorbitant rates. To protect the poor peasants and hired labourers from such exploitation the Soviet Government introduced in April 1925 a number of temporary laws governing the use of hired labour in agriculture. These included the need for written agreements to be drawn up between employee and employer fixing the conditions of the transaction. The hired labourers upheld their rights by demanding the conclusion and strict observance of labour contracts, and the most advanced section of these labourers formed themselves into a union to win improvements in their labour conditions through strikes.

In its struggle against the kulaks the working peasantry relied on the help and support of the Soviet state. Under NEP an integral system of entirely new state measures was introduced to govern taxation and land, credit and cooperative policy. These measures guaranteed the growth of the working peasants' economies and the gradual ousting of the kulaks through increasing limitations.

The development of cooperatives became increasingly more important in the countryside. By the end of the restoration period more than 6.6 million peasant holdings had joined in the cooperatives. These cooperatives developed in various forms including the supply and marketing, the provision of credit, the development of irrigation and the obtaining of farm equipment. Through these essentially simple forms of cooperation the peasantry learned to work collectively and on the basis of their own experience became convinced of the advantages of working together. The

Soviet government extended considerable aid to the state farms so that they in turn should afford economic and cultural aid to the peasantry. By 1925 the number of collective farms had increased to 22,000, incorporating only some 300 thousand peasant holdings, or a little over 1 per cent of the total number of such holdings in the country. But the future belonged to the collective farms and the entire policy of the Party and the state was geared to their utmost development and consolidation.

The Growth of Socialist Elements in Trade

The latter years of the restoration period were marked by a considerable growth in trade and in the home market. State and cooperative trade was gradually strengthened and state control over the private market was increased. In May 1922 an internal trade commission was set up and two years later in May 1924 the People's Commissariat for Internal Trade was formed to govern the whole trade policy of the Soviet state.

The Soviet state consistently implemented a wide range of economic measures designed to win the market away from private capital and strengthen state control over its activities. Particular attention was given to promoting cooperatives in villages and getting control of the village markets.

A powerful lever for the control of private accumulation was the taxation policy of the Soviet state. In late 1922 an income and property tax was introduced which raised the taxes paid by private entrepreneurs. Income tax varied from 31 to 45 per cent for such persons which had the effect of considerably cutting the profits accrued by the private entrepreneur. All the revenues accumulated from this taxation went to help finance the socialist national economy in industry, transport and the socialised trade sector.

An important role in ensuring the victory of socialist elements over capitalist was played by Soviet legislation and the Soviet judicial system.

Many private traders and dealers, who violated Soviet laws, were tried in the courts and considerable importance was attached here to the decisions of people's courts on labour disputes. Soviet

legislation was designed to firmly and unswervingly guard the interests of the working class and punish all those who violated the labour laws.

The class interests of the proletariat at the private and concessional enterprises were defended by the Soviet trade unions. In their struggle against private capital the trade unions made successful use of the collective agreements, which determined wage levels, work time, conditions of hiring and dismissal and labour safety measures.

From the very foundation of the Soviet state private capital made up only a very insignificant part in industry. But in trade the situation was somewhat different, especially during the early years of NEP when the private entrepreneur was absolutely dominant. But by 1924-1925 the conditions were ripe for intensifying the offensive against private capital. In three years (from October 1923 to October 1926) the share of the state-cooperative sector in trade rose from 44 to 76 per cent. In the overall wholesale trade turnover private capital accounted for only 8.5 per cent, but in retail trade it was more than 40 per cent. The socialised sector here, too, was beginning to develop steadily ousting private capital.

The Development of Soviet Democracy

The restoration of the national economy also brought about a strengthening of the Soviet state and social system. Immense work was carried out to reinforce the urban and rural Soviets, the lower organs of state power. In those years elections to the Soviets were held through open ballot at general meetings of the workers, peasants and office workers, which was in accordance with the Constitution. But the percentage of those attending the elections was still low, especially in the villages.

The kulaks frequently penetrated the Soviets and occasionally contrived to get their candidates elected to the chairmanship or other important positions. Furthermore they also resorted to direct terrorist activities against workers in the Soviet, Party and cooperative bodies, against the peasant activists and particularly against the village correspondents, who condemned the acts of the kulaks and their henchmen in the press.

To consolidate the ranks of the proletarian and semi-proletarian strata in the villages during the elections special groups of the village poor peasants were set up by a decision of the October 1925 plenary meeting of the Central Committee. These groups were not only formed under the village Soviets but also in the cooperatives and peasant mutual aid committees. They were designed to help the poor peasants unite into an independent political force at the same time involving the middle peasants into their orbit.

The Party carried out a considerable amount of work to strengthen the Party and Komsomol organisations in the countryside. By January 1926 the number of Communists in the village Party organisations had risen to 251,000. The growth of the Komsomol was particularly rapid. By January 1926 the number of Komsomols in the villages had risen to 950,000, which made it a major political force and the main source of growth of the rural Party organisations.

Important steps were taken to improve the work of the Soviets. The ratio of representation was increased in the village Soviets from one deputy per 200 inhabitants to one deputy per 100 inhabitants. Special sections and commissions were set up in the rural and urban Soviets which included persons who were not themselves members of the Soviet. By the end of 1925 there were in the RSFSR 650,000 deputies in the rural Soviets and approximately one million non-Party peasants taking part in the work of these various commissions and sections. The total number of non-Party activists in the countryside throughout the USSR amounted to not less than 5 million.

The ways and means for encouraging workers and peasants to take part in the political life of the country were also becoming more extensive and varied. In addition to the above-mentioned sections attached to the Soviets an important role in the development of Soviet society was played by the numerous voluntary societies which had a membership of not less than 10 million. An important training ground for management and at the same time the means by which supervision could be exercised from below upon the work of the state apparatus was the system of working people's participation in the Central Control Commission and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

Strengthening the International Position of the USSR Between 1924 and 1925

The years 1924 and 1925 have gone down in the history of international relations as years of diplomatic recognition for the Soviet Union. In February 1924 diplomatic relations were established first with Great Britain. This was soon followed by the establishment of diplomatic relations with Italy, Norway, Austria, Greece, Sweden, Denmark and France. On May 31, 1924 a Soviet-Chinese agreement was concluded, which was the first ever treaty concluded between China and another state on a fully equal basis. In January 1925 a convention was signed establishing normal diplomatic relations and consular relations between the USSR and Japan. On the basis of this convention Japanese troops were withdrawn from Northern Sakhalin and Soviet power was restored on this part of the island.

But despite these recognitions relations between the USSR and the capitalist countries remained strained. US imperialists continued to adopt a position of extreme intolerance towards the Soviet state with the US Government not only not recognising it, but doing everything to impede the restoration of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the other capitalist countries. On the initiative of the United States the Dawes Plan[1] was adopted to promote the economic recovery of German militarism. According to this plan the British and American monopolies were to provide vast loans for strengthening Germany's military potential. The Dawes Plan was followed up by agreements concluded in Locarno in October 1925 between Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and Germany. The Locarno agreements were directed against the USSR being designed to form a bloc hostile to the Soviet state. A prominent place in this anti-Soviet bloc was accorded to Germany, which was virtually given *carte blanche* to unleash a war against the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government, of course, realised the anti-Soviet character of the Locarno Pact and in April 1926 forestalled its further development by concluding a Soviet-German treaty of friendship and neutrality. According to this treaty the German Government undertook to

[1] Named after Charles Dawes, a wealthy US banker.

remain neutral in the event of one or several powers attacking the USSR. A similar treaty was signed in December 1925 between the USSR and Turkey. Through implementing a policy of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Government was able to guarantee international conditions favourable to the restoration of its national economy and the further socialist transformation of the country.

The foreign and domestic policies of the Soviet state were warmly welcomed by the international proletariat. Between 1921 and 1925 the international ties between the working people abroad and in the Soviet Union were considerably expanded. In 1924-1925 the USSR was visited by workers' delegations from Britain, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and other countries. Thousands of foreigners came to work in the USSR so as to help the country rapidly restore its national economy.

The sucesses of socialist construction in the USSR began to exert a growing influence on the international working-class and national liberation movement.

The 14th Party Congress. The Policy of Industrialisation

The successful restoration of the national economy faced the Party with the urgent problem of deciding upon the long-term prospects for the future development of socialism in the USSR. The theoretical question of the possibility of socialism being victorious in one country alone had already been resolved by Lenin during the years of the First World War. But in the mid-twenties this issue acquired practical importance. It was necessary to strengthen the Leninist line for the victory of socialism in the USSR particularly at a time when serious changes had taken place on the world arena. The relative stability of capitalism (although a temporary phenomenon), which had been noted since approximately 1924 following the period of revolutionary struggle, meant that for a fairly long period the Soviet people would be forced to remain in capitalist encirclement and therefore carry out the building of socialism without state help being given them by the international proletariat.

The 14th Party Conference which met in April, 1925 based its discussion of the future development of the country on Lenin's theory of the possibility of the victory of socialism in the USSR alone. The resolution of the Conference emphasised that such a victory was indeed possible.

The 14th Party Congress, which met from December 18 to 31, 1925, analysed the results of economic restoration and formulated the objectives for the next stage in socialist construction. The Congress called upon the whole Soviet people to support the industrialisation policy, which would make the USSR economically independent and to strive for the complete victory of the socialist elements over the capitalist elements in the economy.

At the Congress an intense ideological conflict broke out between the Party and the so-called "New Opposition" formed by Kamenev, Zinoviev and their adherents. Like the Trotskyites the "New Opposition" denied the possibility of building socialism in the USSR and on this point the two factions stood together in a joint struggle against the Leninist line of the Party.

On the main issue, the long-term prospects for socialist construction, the Congress resolved that the USSR, being a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, had all the necessary prerequisites for building a full socialist society and that this aim was to be the main objective of the Party.

Having beaten back the opposition, the Congress adopted a number of important decisions aimed at implementing the Leninist line for the building of socialism in the USSR. The Congress further approved the new edition of the Party Rules and decided in connection with the recent formation of the USSR to rename the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). Discussion was also held and resolutions passed at the Congress on such matters as the work of the trade unions and the Komsomol.

The 14th Congress of the Party went down in history as the Congress of Industrialisation. Having successfully restored the national economy, the Soviet Union moved forward to the next stage of its development, the stage of socialist reconstruction and the building of the foundations of a socialist economy.

CHAPTER FOUR

BUILDING THE FOUNDATIONS OF A SOCIALIST ECONOMY (1926-1932)

1. THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET STATE

The Failure of Attempts to Form an Anti-Soviet Bloc

During the mid-twenties capitalism had entered a period of relative stability. But this stability lacked permanence and durability and the contradictions of the capitalist world became increasingly apparent. The uneven development of the different imperialist states led to a struggle between Britain and the United States for markets, while Japan and Germany became gradually drawn into the fight for world domination.

Within the capitalist countries the bourgeoisie intensified its offensive against the working class, while the working class replied with increased revolutionary fervour.

The anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution, which took place in China in 1925-1927, exercised a powerful influence on the international situation. The Soviet people gave their wholehearted support to the Chinese revolution, working Sundays without payment so as to send the proceeds to the Chinese revolutionaries. The famous Soviet commander, V. K. Blyukher, was invited by the revolutionary government of Sun Yat-sen as chief military adviser to help organise the people's revolutionary army of China.

In the latter part of the twenties the national liberation movement began to be stepped up in many countries of the East,

In these conditions the imperialists of Britain, France, the United States and other countries began to intensify their anti-Soviet policies. They were alarmed by the successes of socialist construction in the USSR, which they tried to hamper through the preparation of new intervention.

This anti-Soviet campaign was led by the Conservative Government in Britain. On May 12, 1927 the British committed an openly anti-Soviet act by raiding the offices of the Soviet Trade Delegation and the ARCOS Society[1] in London. After the raid they produced phoney documents which they themselves had planted and as a result of this "find" diplomatic and trade relations with the USSR were broken off on May 27.

On June 7 of the same year the Soviet ambassador in Poland, P. L. Voikov, was assassinated. The assassins had counted on this act leading to a declaration of war between Poland and the Soviet Union which would then develop into new military intervention from the Western powers against the USSR. But this provocation was resisted by the firm position of the Soviet Government as well as the strong wave of indignation which arose among the working people of Poland as a result of this villainous murder.

Reactionary forces in Britain tried to organise a military campaign against the USSR in the East with the support of the Chinese warlords. In November 1927 the Chinese police raided the Soviet Consulate in Shanghai and in December the Soviet embassy in Peking.

All these provocations were answered by the Soviet Government with calm and restraint in the knowledge that they had the working people solidly behind them.

Consistently pursuing the Leninist policy of peaceful co-existence, the Soviet Government did all it could to relax international tension with the result that the imperialists failed to isolate the USSR or begin military intervention against it.

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[1] ARCOS—All-Russia Co-operative Society for Trade with Britain.

The World Economic Crisis. A Fresh Attempt to Involve the USSR in a War

In 1929 the international situation once more began to deteriorate with the approach of a serious economic crisis. The first signs of this crisis began to appear in the Balkans and in Poland and Romania in the summer of that year. By the autumn a full-scale crisis had hit all the major capitalist countries: the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Canada and the countries of Latin America and Asia. The relative stability of capitalism noted in the mid-twenties was over.

The crisis reached its peak in 1932, but raged on until 1933 to become the most destructive economic crisis ever to hit the capitalist world. It brought about a sharp reduction in the level of industrial output in the capitalist countries with many factories and plants being forced to lie idle and many mines and open cast workings being closed. In the United States, Britain and Germany the production of pig iron and coal, for example, were back at their turn of the century level.

The industrial crisis was accompanied by an agrarian crisis which severely affected the living standards of the working people in the capitalist countries. According to bourgeois statistics, which are far from complete, the number of unemployed in 1932 was between 45 and 50 million.

The world economic crisis, which occurred in conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, intensified all the contradictions of imperialism and promoted the revolutionary movement in the capitalist and colonial countries. In answer to the capitalist offensive the proletariat stepped up its strike struggle, while in China, India, Indonesia and Africa the national liberation movement grew apace.

The aggravation of the contradictions within the imperialist system led to an increasing truculence among the capitalist countries. In 1929 ruling circles in the US, Britain, Japan and France attempted once more to involve the USSR in a war in the Far East. On July 10, 1929 Chinese and Manchurian warlords together with former White Guards seized the Chinese-Eastern Railway at the instigation of international imperialist reaction. This railway had been run jointly by the USSR and China. Now

the Soviet administration were thrown out, their premises wrecked and Soviet personnel arrested.

A note from the Soviet Coverment of July 13, 1929 protesting at these acts on the part of the Chinese military was rejected. Furthermore in the autumn of the same year armed Manchurian units together with contingents of White Guards attacked Soviet frontier guards and made incursions into Soviet territory.

To meet this military threat a Special Far Eastern Army under the command of V. K. Blyukher was formed. Blyukher's army completely drove the Manchurians out of Soviet territory, pursuing them far into Manchuria. Only when the Chinese Covernment sued for peace was the Soviet Far Eastern Army finally ordered to withdraw.

On December 3, 1929 a preparatory protocol was signed between the USSR and China. This was followed up by a final agreement (signed in Khabarovsk on December 22, 1929) according to which the Chinese-Eastern Railway was once more to be run jointly as according to the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of May 31, 1924.[1]

Thus, the anti-Soviet provocation launched by the imperialists in the Far East in 1929 was frustrated.

But in 1930 and subsequent years aggressive circles in the capitalist countries tried once more to bring about an anti-Soviet blockade and new intervention against the USSR. The aim of this was to distract the attention of the working people from the real causes of the economic crisis and shore up their own unstable positions. An active part in this anti-Soviet campaign was played by the reactionary hierarchy of the Catholic Church, when Pope Pius XI announced a "holy crusade" against the USSR.

International imperialism was also preparing for the economic blockade of the USSR. During the period of world economic crisis imperialists raised a hullabaloo about Soviet export. Despite the fact that the Soviet share of world export was small (in 1930 it accounted for only 1.9 per cent), the capitalists accused the USSR

[1] According to this treaty the Chinese-Eastern Railway was considered as a purely commercial enterprise, jointly run by the Soviet and Chinese governments.

of "undermining" their economy. They claimed that the USSR was unloading its commodities on the world market at prices considerably lower than the value of the goods and that this kind of dumping was designed to intensify the world crisis. In putting the blame on the USSR for the world crisis the capitalists did not confine themselves to agitation alone against Soviet export. The governments of some of the imperialist powers (the US, France, Canada and Belgium) actually forbade the import of Soviet goods.

Thus, in its turn, the Soviet Government was forced to take counter-measures against those countries that were seeking to impede Soviet trade. In October 1930 the Council of People's Commissars passed a resolution to cancel or considerably reduce orders and purchases made in those countries which had put up special tariff barriers against the USSR.

In view of the economic interest of a number of the capitalist countries for trading with the USSR Soviet foreign trade not only did not suffer any great damage from the anti-Soviet actions of the reactionaries but, on the contrary, in the early thirties actually expanded.

While planning their intervention against the USSR, the imperialists at the same time led a fierce struggle for markets. The imperialist states sought a way out of the crisis in war and tried to solve their contradictions through a new redivision of the world.

In September 1931 without any official declaration of war Japan seized Manchuria, a part of China, and then prepared to invade the whole of Northern China. This armed seizure turned the Far East into forcing ground for a new world war.

At the same time a second seat of war was being made ready in the West with the fascists coming to power in Germany. They demanded the redrawing of state borders, the annulment of the Treaty of Versailles and the return of the German colonies. International imperialism counted on turning the German revanchists towards the East so that they could unleash their aggression against the USSR.

The Soviet Struggle for Peace and the Establishment of Good-Neighbourly Relations with All Countries

The basis of Soviet foreign policy during the years of the socialist reconstruction of the national economy remained, as before, the implementation of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist states. The Soviet people had a material interest in peace, which was essential for the fulfillment of their creative plans. The resolution of the 14th Party Congress noted that "the policy of peace must be pursued, and it should stand at the centre of the Government's entire foreign policy and should determine all its essential moves".[1]

True to these principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, the Soviet Government suggested the conclusion of non-aggression and neutrality pacts. These pacts were to be based on the clear and distinct principle of preserving peace. There was to be no aggression, no participation in blockades, no helping aggressive groups and no forming any blocs of a political, military or economic character, which could be directed against one or other of the contracting sides.

After the signing of the first non-aggression and neutrality treaty with Turkey in December 1925, similar treaties were concluded between 1926 and 1927 with Germany, Afghanistan and Iran.

On the initiative of the French Foreign Minister Aristide Briand, and US Secretary of State, Frank Kellogg, a pact was signed in August 1928 in Paris between the US, Britain, France, Germany and Italy condemning war as a means of international politics. On September 6, 1928 the Soviet Government declared its readiness to join this pact and in February 1929 the USSR together with its neighbours (Poland, Romania, Estonia, Lithuania, Iran and Turkey) signed a protocol in Moscow on the immediate implementation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact ahead of schedule.

The policy of the Soviet state here led to a resumption of diplomatic contacts with Great Britain. On November 7, 1929 the

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[1] *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 3, p. 245.

new Labour Government in Britain formally announced the renewal of relations between the two countries.

The increasing prestige of the USSR in international affairs was demonstrated by the conclusion during the early thirties of non-aggression and neutrality pacts with Finland, Lithuania, Estonia and Poland. Of particular importance was the conclusion of such a pact with France in 1932.

The conclusion of these non-aggression pacts was a major success for Soviet foreign policy. They played an important role in the struggle of the Soviet Union for preserving peace and frustrating the attempts of the imperialists to form a united anti-Soviet front.

In its endeavour to strengthen peace throughout the world, the Soviet Government led an energetic struggle for general disarmament, just as the capitalist countries were intensifying the arms race.

The Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference which was set up in 1925 by the League of Nations in effect did nothing. The USSR participated in the work of the Commission from November 1927, when M. M. Litvinov, head of the Soviet delegation, making his first appearance announced in the name of the Soviet Government a declaration on general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet proposal was postponed until March 1928 on the pretext that the Preparatory Commission was set up to consider partial and not complete disarmament. The Soviet delegation then came forward with a draft convention on partial arms limitation. They proposed to establish a coefficient of disarmament for each group of states and set up a special control commission to monitor the course of disarmament. The Soviet draft envisaged the gradual reduction of the armed forces, arms and ammunition and the complete destruction of chemical weapons.

Despite the fact that this draft met with the same fate as the first (rejection), the Soviet disarmament programme nevertheless played an important role. It was supported by the masses and swelled the ranks of the champions of peace.

At the World Disarmament Conference, which opened on February 2, 1932 in Geneva, the Soviet delegation once more came forward with their disarmament proposals.

Of great importance at the Geneva Conference was the draft definition of an aggressor, which was also submitted by the Soviet Union. This draft envisaged all the possible circumstances under which one state might attack another and was so composed that it prevented an aggressor from justifying his aggression in any way.

On the basis of its proposals the Soviet Union concluded a convention on the definition of an aggressor with Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, Poland, Romania, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. It was an important success for Soviet foreign policy.

The growth of the USSSR's international prestige and the frustration of the imperialist anti-Soviet provocations were due primarily to the increasing might of the world's first state of workers and peasants. Also of great significance in the USSR's struggle for peace was the international support from the working people.

The proletariat of the whole world watched the building of socialism in the USSR with great attention. During the years of economic reconstruction hundreds of workers' delegations visited the USSR. There they learned about the way in which socialism was being built and saw the results of industrialisation and collectivisation carried out under the first five-year plan.

The successes of Soviet foreign policy between 1926 and 1932 and the country's firm and consistent struggle for peace impeded those forces that were trying to unleash a new war, but they could not fully stop the growing aggressiveness of the capitalist countries. Already by the early thirties the seats of war were forming in the Far East and in Europe. But the League of Nations continued to do nothing. The angry voice of protest against war was continually raised by the USSR, but its insistent calls for disarmament met with no response. Ruling circles in Germany, Japan, Britain, the United States, Italy and France were not interested in disarmament or collective security. And so the international situation became increasingly more dangerous.

2. THE FIRST STEPS TOWARDS SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALISATION

The Mobilisation of the Soviet People for Socialist Industrialisation

In 1926 the Soviet Union began the planned implementation of the policy of socialist industrialisation. Its aim was to turn the USSR into a powerful industrial state and create the material and technical basis for socialism.

It was planned to build a first-class large-scale industry, to re-equip all the branches of the national economy on the basis of advanced, contemporary technology, to make the country technologically and economically independent and to strengthen its defence capabilities. A new stage had begun in the history of the Soviet people—the period of the socialist reconstruction of the national economy.

Industrialisation in the Soviet Union was socialist in character. Its ultimate result was to be the complete victory of the socialist elements in the economy over the capitalist, the ousting and then complete liquidation of private capital. Industrialisation in the USSR guaranteed the reconstruction of the national economy and the reorganisation of agriculture, transport and other branches of the economy. It brought about a sharp break with the past and the creation of a new, progressive industrial structure.

The level at which socialist industrialisation was begun was comparatively low. The years of economic restoration made no noticeable difference to the pre-revolutionary correlation between industry and agriculture or to the share of heavy industry in overall industrial output. The machine-building industry lagged behind severely with needs in this area being met as a rule via imports. Thus the development of heavy industry, especially mechanical engineering, became a priority.

The fact of capitalist encirclement made it essential for industrialisation to be carried out rapidly. The danger of war and economic blockade by the aggressive imperialist states meant that a powerful national industry had to be built up in the shortest possible time. But to carry out a programme of socialist industrialisation, create a powerful heavy industry and bring about the tech-

nological modernisation of the national economy demanded immense resources.

The methods of capitalist industrialisation—the plunder of the colonies, vicious exploitation of the working people and the exaction of indemnities from conquered nations—were incompatible with the nature of the Soviet state. The resources for industrial development had to be found within the country. The problem of capital accumulation became one of the hardest facing socialist industrialisation. Relying on the advantages of the Soviet socialist system such as nationalisation of the means of production and planned economic development the Party and the Government redistributed the national income in favour of heavy industry with the capital accumulated from light industry and the income from foreign and domestic trade all being used to finance it. Taxes and loans from the population, particularly the peasantry as the most numerous class at the time, also provided considerable capital.

In April 1926 the Communist Party appealed to all the working people of the Soviet Union to do all they could to help solve the problem of capital accumulation. The Party called for the strictest economies to be made, for a merciless struggle against all forms of non-productive expenditures, for increasing the free flow of money from the population into the credit and cooperative institutions and for increased participation in the state-loan scheme. The purpose of all these appeals was the promotion of socialist industrialisation and particularly the development of heavy industry.

The Communist Party set the working class three important objectives at the outset of socialist industrialisation. These were the implementation of strict economies, the rationalisation of production and the reduction of the cost of industrial output. These objectives had to be attained through increasing the productivity of labour and strengthening labour discipline.

In its struggle to achieve these objectives the Party could rely on the most advanced section of the workers, who by their innovatory ideas or by their sheer hard work set an example to the rest of the working class.

At the production conferences the workers showed up instances of bad management, took measures to eliminate them, and re-

vealed new reserves of socialist accumulation. In the new conditions of socialist industrialisation the production conferences began to devote more attention to making economies, rationalising production, lowering the cost of production and increasing the productivity of labour. For approximately every thousand members of the production conferences there were one hundred suggestions for rationalisation and from these vast economies were made. By 1928 about one-third of all the industrial workers in the country were participating in the production conferences.

In 1926 competitions began to be held at the factories for the best worker and later for the best shop-floor. The idea for this competition came from the Komsomol organisation at one of the factories in Leningrad. Within a few weeks of its beginning wastage was reduced by some 200 per cent, the productivity of labour went up and absenteeism was almost completely done away with.

One permanent form for the organisation of socialist labour was the shock brigade. The very first of these shock brigades sprung up at the coach repair shop of the Moscow-Kazan Railway, where the first communist *subbotnik* was held. The Soviet people who saw industrialisation as something that affected them all closely, gave up their private savings for the sake of industrialisation and for the building of new industrial enterprises. In 1927 the first special industrialisation loan totalling 200 million roubles was issued and in 1928 a second issue of the same industrialisation loan amounted to 550 million roubles.

The industrialisation of the country brought about a number of changes in the old scientific and technical workers. The better members of the intelligentsia actively participated in the building of socialism. This increased activity among scientific and technical workers found its expression, in particular, in the organisation in 1927 of the All-Union Association of Scientific and Technical Workers for Promotion of the Building of Socialism.

The transition to socialist industrialisation required the restructuring and strengthening of the state and the economic apparatus.

Particular attention was given to strengthening the Soviets. The Party tried to link the Soviets more closely with the masses

and encourage them to participate more fully in social and political life. Thus, in 1926 only over half the electorate voted at the elections to the Soviets, whereas in the following year the number had risen to 60 per cent. The composition of the Soviets had improved too during this period as more Party and Komsomol members, workers, hired labourers, poor peasants and women deputies were elected.

The Soviets were accorded more extensive rights with social and cultural institutions and public enterprises (such as schools, hospitals, clubs, etc.) being put under their control.

The tasks imposed by the socialist reconstruction of the economy made new demands on the economic apparatus. The purposeful development of industry required that the sectoral principle of management be strengthened and that increased independence be given to individual enterprises.

Though promoting the centralisation of industrial management, the Party and the Government at the same time gave considerable independence to the industrial enterprises. The new Statute on Trusts, passed in June 1927, firmly established the principle of one-man management, enlarged the rights of directors of enterprises and increased the responsibilities of the managers for the fulfillment of state plans.

The restructuring of the national economy made the task of improving the whole process of socialist planning a matter of urgency. The building of large-scale industrial enterprises required long-term economic plans covering a period of years.

With the expansion and consolidation of the socialist sector and the strengthening of the leading role of socialist industry in the country's economy it became both possible and necessary to draw up long-term plans.

In April 1927, the Fourth All-Union Congress of Soviets issued a directive to the Soviet Government for the preparation of a five-year plan. In his report to the Congress entitled "On the Present Conditions of Industry in the USSR and the Prospects for Further Development" V. V. Kuibyshev[1] gave a de-

[1] V. V. Kuibyshev became chairman of the Supreme Economic Council in 1926 after the death of F. E. Dzerzhinsky.

tailed analysis of the aims and objectives to be pursued in drawing up a five-year national economic development plan.

The transition to socialist industrialisation was accomplished in conditions of acute class struggle. The capitalist elements stepped up their activity in an attempt to defend their economic position and put a stop to socialist industrialisation. In this they found objective allies in the anti-Leninist factions within the Party, which by the summer of 1926 were organised into a Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc.

This opposition, which was now opposed to the policies of the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee, was out to split the Party, win freedom of action for the various factions and groupings and alter the Leninist resolution which was passed at the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) on Party unity. The Trotskyites and Zinovievites formed an independent faction which had its own rules, received dues from its members and possessed its own illegal press. They held secret meetings and published anti-Party documents.

But these Trotskyites, Zinovievites and other capitulationists were opposed by the absolute majority of the Party organisations and the overwhelming majority of the rank and file members. Prominent Party figures like A. A. Andreyev, V. Ya. Chubar, F. E. Dzerzhinsky, M. I. Kalinin, S. V. Kosior, V. V. Kuibyshev, A. I. Mikoyan, G. K. Orjonikidze, G. I. Petrovsky, J. V. Stalin and K. Ye. Voroshilov played a great role in the struggle against the anti-Leninist groups.

The capitulationists were warned at the 15th All-Union Party Conference that if they did not desist from their anti-Party activity, they would be expelled from the Party.

But the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc continued in its work of disruption. In 1927 when the international situation had deteriorated as a result of the break in diplomatic and trade relations with Britain, the Trotskyites increased their anti-Party struggle. Subsequent meetings showed that the policy of the Central Committee was unanimously supported by the absolute majority of Communists, while the opposition had something less than one per cent of the votes.

Convinced of their defeat, the Trotskyites and Zinovievites set about open anti-Soviet struggle. On November 7, 1927 they

tried to organise political demonstrations in the streets of Moscow and Leningrad. By these counter-revolutionary tactics the Trotskyites became no better than the open enemies of Soviet power.

Thus, on November 14, 1927 at a joint meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU(B) Trotsky and Zinoviev were expelled from the Party while the other members of opposition were removed from its leading organs. At the 15th Party Congress, which was held in December, 1927 the ideological and organisational defeat of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite opposition was endorsed. Since the differences between the Party and the opposition were now strategic rather than tactical, the Congress declared that membership in the Trotskyite opposition and propaganda of its views were incompatible with Party membership.

Thus the anti-Party Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc was smashed and the Leninist policies of the Party were upheld.

The First Successes of Industrialisation

In October 1927 the Soviet people celebrated the tenth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The results of these first ten years were summed up at a jubilee session of the All-Union Central Executive Committee, which was opened on October 15, 1927 in Leningrad.

This jubilee session addressed a Manifesto to the working people of the Soviet Union, the proletariat of all countries and the oppressed nations of the world. The Manifesto proclaimed that within the next few years a seven-hour working day was to be introduced for factory workers without any reduction in pay.[1]

All the poor peasants and a part of the middle peasants (i.e., one-third of all peasant farms) were made exempt from the agricultural tax and all tax arrears that had accrued in recent years were cancelled for the poor peasants. Considerable resources were allocated to housing and school construction in the workers' settlements and the villages.

[1] The seven-hour working day lasted from 1928 to 1940 when due to the threat of war (from Hitler's Germany) the eight-hour working day was temporarily re-introduced.

To commemorate the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution the Party Central Committee in accordance with the wishes of the workers announced a special October Enrollment into the Party. More than 90,000 of the most progressive workers joined the Party ranks and more than 50,000 young workers were made members of the Komsomol.

The tenth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was celebrated by working people all over the world. Demonstrations of solidarity with the Soviet people were held in Berlin, London, Paris, New York, Chicago and other cities.

At the suggestion of foreign worker delegations the World Congress of Friends of the USSR was held in Moscow on November 10-12, 1927. It was attended by a thousand delegates from 43 countries. The World Congress of Friends of the USSR was a clear demonstration of the solidarity of the world proletariat with the working people of the Soviet Union. It showed that all the forces of the international working class united behind the slogan of proletarian revolution and defence of the world's first socialist state. The final appeal of the Congress, which was addressed to all the working people of the world, declared: "Give all you have and do all you can to fight for, defend and protect the USSR, the motherland of the working people, the bulwark of peace, the outpost of liberation and the stronghold of socialism."

The consistent implementation of the policies of the 14th Party Congress determined the first successes of socialist industrialisation. In 1928 Soviet gross industrial output was 32 per cent above the 1913 level.

The first successes of industrialisation also showed in a slight change in the correlation between the sectors of industrial production. Thanks to the intensive development of heavy industry the production of the means of production began to take a greater share.

The focus of industrial development was gradually changing from the restoration and reconstruction of old enterprises to the building of new plants and factories. In 1926 more than one quarter of all capital investments went on new construction. During the first years of industrialisation building was started on more than 600 new enterprises and in many old factories production was radically restructured almost to the point of rebuilding.

Particular attention was paid to electrification and to the opening of the new power stations envisaged in the GOELRO plan. Thus in December 1926 the Volkhov hydroelectric power station, the first of its kind, was opened. It had a greater capacity than any other power station in the country, although its output then was no more than 56,000 kilowatts. A year later the foundations were laid for a hydroelectric power station on the Dnieper, which was to be the largest in Europe. The building of the dam across the Dnieper for the power station also made the river navigable throughout its entire length. Around this new power station a major industrial centre was to spring up.

Considerable capital investments were allocated to the development of the timber and oil industry. Between 1926 and 1928 a vast number of new saw-mills were built in the main timber-export areas of the country and oil refineries were built at Baku, Grozny and Batumi. By October 1928 the oil pipeline from Grozny to Tuapse was completed, while work continued on the Baku-Batumi pipeline which was finally completed in 1930.

In 1926 dozens of new coal mines were opened in the Donbas, in the coalfields outside Moscow and in Siberia, while many of the old mines were reconstructed.

The first successes in electrification and the fuel industry made it possible to develop the national machine-building industry. The new production methods which were introduced during the latter years of the restoration period led to the production of the first Soviet milling and drilling lathes as well as machines for the textile and chemical industries.

The need for the technological reconstruction of agriculture put great demands on the agricultural machine industry. Plants producing agricultural machinery were built at Rostov and Saratov and in summer 1927 building was begun on a tractor works at Stalingrad. Plans were drawn up for the building of three enormous non-ferrous metal plants at Krivoi Rog, Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk. But in 1928 the production of pig iron had not yet reached its pre-war level. Decisive changes in this field still lay ahead.

As heavy industry developed, light industry too began to grow. Building was started on new textile mills and combines, on factories producing footwear and leather goods and on enterprises

in the food industry (bakeries, fish-canning factories and meat-packing combines).

Between 1926 and 1928 particular attention was given to developing the paper industry. In 1928 the first stage of the country's largest newsprint producing plant at Balakhna (the Gorky Region) was completed, while construction went ahead on the Syas paper combine near Leningrad and the Kondopoga paper combine in Karelia.

Intensive industrial development was also taking place in the Ukraine, which had the second largest industrial output (after the RSFSR) in the USSR. From the Ukraine came three-quarters of the nation's coal and pig iron. In the economic year 1928/29 as a result of the reconstruction of old and the building of new enterprises industrial production in the Ukraine rose to approximately double its pre-war level.

Industrialisation was just begun in other republics, particularly those in Central Asia. In many of these areas industry had to be completely started from scratch and for this enormous capital investment was required. But without help from the industrially developed regions of the country the industrialisation of these economically backward regions would have been quite impossible.

But in all the national republics industrial development got underway right from the very start. Local raw materials provided an initial base for the first industries, and there eventually formed an industrial base of their own.

Thus in Byelorussia wood-finishing, paper, leather and glass enterprises were built. In Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia light industry and food industries were built up on the basis of local raw materials and building was begun on hydro-electric power stations. At Baku and Grozny the oil industry which was important for the whole country was rapidly developing. In Central Asia new cotton processing factories were built as well as food and canning factories.

Enormous resources were invested in the industry in Kazakhstan and each year its production of copper, zinc, lead, coal and oil increased.

Of great importance to socialist industrialisation was the building of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway. The railway was of im-

mense significance, connecting as it did the cornfields, timber forests and coal mines of Siberia with the cotton fields of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The local inhabitants called the railway "the road to a new life".

The whole country helped build the Turkestan-Siberian Railway. From Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, the Urals and other major industrial centres workers and engineers came to build the new railway, where they worked side by side with Kazakhs, Kirghizes and Uzbeks.

On November 21, 1927 the official opening was held of the first kilometre of the railway, which was not finally completed until 1930.

The first successes in industrial development were of considerable importance for the implementation of the extensive plans for the socialist industrialisation of the whole country.

The Difficulties Facing Socialist Industrialisation. Resistance from Capitalist Elements

The Soviet people were faced with great difficulties in implementing the policy of industrialisation.

Capitalist elements still maintained their positions in the country's economy. In 1928, for example, the private traders had control of some 20 per cent of the country's retail trade, while the kulaks produced approximately one-fifth of the country's grain. Private capital still functioned in industry, though its share was continually falling. But the private entrepreneur, the trader and the kulak were gradually being ousted from the positions they had seized and for this reason they did what they could to undermine the building of socialism.

Industrialisation required the mobilisation of immense resources and the results of capital investment in industry could not be seen immediately. In 1928 the fall in trade began to make itself felt more deeply and serious difficulties were arising in the markets. The situation got worse with food shortages. Apart from the general backwardness of agriculture that year saw poor harvests in the Southern Ukraine and Northern Caucasus. By the end of the year the Soviet Government was forced to introduce food rationing for the urban population.

Another complex problem facing industrialisation was the lack of skilled workers. In 1928 there were only 25,000 engineers and technicians with specialised training, which was less than one per cent of the total work force.

Many of the old bourgeois engineers and technicians allied themselves to the revolution from its earliest days and worked hard during the years of industrialisation for the socialist reconstruction of the national economy.

But among the old bourgeois intelligentsia there were reactionary groups, hostile to Soviet power. These were chiefly made up of specialists that held important positions in pre-revolutionary Russian industry.

In 1928 a large group of wreckers and saboteurs was uncovered at the Shakhty mines in the Donbas. This group consisted of the former owners of the mines and a number of bourgeois specialists. At their trial which was held in Moscow from May to July 1928, the full extent of their criminal activities became known. They had wrecked machines, caused landslides and explosions and burned mines and factories and power stations. The members of this counter-revolutionary organisation maintained ties with former Russian and foreign capitalists and with foreign intelligence services. Their aim was nothing less than the destruction of the Soviet coal industry and the disruption of the economic power and defence capabilities of the USSR.

The Soviet state dealt severely with the wreckers, but at the same time it continued its policy of encouraging all honest specialists to work in Soviet industry.

The task of prime importance was the training and formation of a scientific and technical intelligentsia from among the ranks of the workers and peasants themselves. This matter was discussed at the July 1928 Plenum of the Party Central Committee, where it was revealed that a vast discrepancy existed between the growing demands of industry for a skilled work force and the current methods employed in training them. To make up for this discrepancy the Plenum suggested that new workers' preparatory courses, new colleges of advanced technology and new technical colleges should be opened.

Overcoming the bitter resistance of the class enemy, the people of the Soviet Union worked diligently on Lenin's plan of social-

ist industrialisation. The very first years of industrialisation proved the merits of the course set by the Communist Party. Broad vistas opened for the socialist reconstruction of the entire economy.

3. THE COLLECTIVISATION OF AGRICULTURE

Agriculture at the Beginning of the Reconstruction Period

In 1926-1927 the main indicators for Soviet agriculture were higher than in pre-revolutionary Russia. The sowing area was 9-10 per cent higher than in 1913 and gross agricultural output was up by 18-20 per cent. Grain yields were also above the pre-revolutionary figures with 4.5 billion poods being the average annual yield for the period 1925-1928 as against 4 billion poods for the period 1909-1913. The country now had more cattle and its productivity was greater. The process which had begun in the early years of the revolution whereby the number of middle peasants was gradually increasing continued so that by 1926-1927 they accounted for 63 per cent of the total peasant population. This was a pointer to the rising standards of living among the mass of the working peasantry.

Agriculture as a whole, however, remained in an extremely backward state. Its rates of development were too low, especially in comparison with those of industry.

During the first years of industrialisation there was an enormous disparity between the development of the two main sectors of the national economy—socialist industry and small-scale backward peasant agriculture. While the former was developing on the basis of expanded reproduction and moving rapidly ahead, agriculture could not even make use of simple reproduction.

The small-scale peasant holdings, which were predominant in the villages, largely used manual labour and horse power. The work of the individual peasant farmer remained arduous and unproductive. The individual peasant farming gave rise spontaneously to the development of capitalist relations in the countryside with the poor peasants and the poorer sections of the middle peasants falling under the domination of the kulaks.

This kind of production was unable to meet the growing demands of the country in marketable grain. Furthermore between 1925 and 1928 the average annual production of marketable grain was considerably lower than between 1909 and 1913, even though overall grain yields were higher than in the pre-revolutionary period. Before the revolution the main producers of grain were the landowners and the kulaks. After the revolution, which did away completely with the landowners and considerably reduced the kulak farms, it was the poor and middle peasants that became the main producers of marketable grain. But their marketability was not high even before the revolution, while the increasing consumption of peasant families and the splitting up of the peasant holdings[1] after the revolution reduced it still further. The few collective farms and state farms that had already been set up played so far no important role in the country's grain production.

The country also faced considerable difficulties in the procurement of grain with amounts continuing to decrease. This, of course, presented a serious threat to food supplies in the towns and in the army.

The main causes of these difficulties lay in the fact that agriculture was fragmented, unproductive and backward. But they also had a socio-class basis. The kulaks were able to amass considerable reserves of grain[2] and were now trying to disrupt the Soviet state's procurement drive and thereby strike a blow at the whole national economy. They refused to sell grain at fixed state prices and either concealed it or left it to rot. In this way the kulaks tried to aggravate the food situation in the country, bring about a crisis in the Soviet economy and disrupt the industrialisation programme.

The Party and the Soviet state took measures to improve the work of the procurement organisations and hold the kulaks in check. Taxes imposed on the kulaks were increased and the terms

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[1] In 1927 the number of individual peasant holdings in the country was the highest ever—25 million as against 21 million in 1916.

[2] In 1927 there were 1.1 million kulak farms producing more than 10 million tonnes (13 per cent) of the total country's grain and 2 million tonnes (20 per cent) of marketable grain.

of payment were rigidly fixed. Those found guilty of profiteering were brought to trial and their goods confiscated for the benefit of the state. Twenty-five per cent of grain surpluses confiscated from profiteers or profiteering elements among the kulaks were to be given to the poor peasants in the form of a long-term credit for seeding and in cases of urgency, for consumption.

The effect of the emergency measures was that the poor peasants and the middle peasants joined in the struggle against the kulaks and their economic sabotage was brought to an end. The Soviet state and the working people in the towns and the villages won an important victory over their class enemy. But the objective facts that had given rise to the difficulties involved in grain procurement continued to exist spelling the possible repetition of similar phenomena.

Thus the first successes of socialist industrialisation at the outset of the reconstruction period showed up the failure of small-scale peasant agriculture with particular clarity.

The backwardness of agriculture resulted in serious economic and political difficulties and presented a serious obstacle to the building of socialism. Thus the time had come for the historical transformation of agriculture according to Lenin's cooperative plan. The small and fragmented peasant holdings had to be brought together for large-scale production. This was a matter of material interest to the whole of the working peasantry, who were now convinced from their own experience that "small-scale farming will not bring deliverance from want".[1]

Preparations for Mass Collectivisation

The policy of collectivising agriculture was determined at the 15th Party Congress, which was held in December 1927.

This congress has gone down in the history of the Soviet Union as the collectivisation congress. The new situation made it possible for the Party with the help of the poor and middle peasants

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Speech Delivered at the First All-Russia Conference on Party Work in the Countryside, November 18, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 148.

to launch an offensive against the kulaks in order to completely dislodge them from their positions and bring about the rapid socialisation of the peasant holdings.

In adopting a policy of collectivisation the 15th Party Congress was guided by Lenin's cooperative plan and by the growing economic necessity for the socialist transformation of agriculture as well as the presence of the right material, political and psychological prerequisites. But it did not call for immediate collectivisation. It was necessary to adopt a number of preparatory measures that would ensure the turn of the greater mass of the peasantry towards collectivisation.

Of paramount importance was the need to promote the socio-economic factors of collectivisation. This involved providing the necessary machinery for agriculture, giving material aid to the peasantry and developing agricultural cooperation.

From the outset of the reconstruction period it became increasingly possible to provide the material and technological base for the socialist transformation of agriculture. Soviet industry was now turning out large numbers of tractors and other tractor-drawn farming equipment, although some machinery still had to be imported. The number of tractors available for agricultural use rose fairly rapidly from 14,000 in 1926 to 35,000 in 1929.

After the 15th Party Congress a number of associations were organised among the peasantry for the joint purchase and collective use of agricultural machinery. The collective farms, which were now springing up everywhere, also bought tractors and other machinery from the state. By the summer of 1929 more than one-quarter of the collective farms in the country as a whole had tractors, while in the grain growing areas the fraction was up to one third.

But still the majority of collective farms did not have enough resources to acquire machinery. Neither did they have enough skilled workers to use them properly. Thus it was necessary to develop a more satisfactory means of providing technical assistance to the peasant collectives. Such a means was found during the actual collectivisation process itself, with the gradual formation of what were then called state or cooperative tractor columns and stations. The first of these tractor columns was formed in 1927 on the Shevchenko State Farm (in the Odessa region of

the Ukraine). This was later developed into the country's first machine and tractor station.

The new equipment that was run by the machine and tractor stations was a factor of decisive importance in the process of collectivisation. Realising this the Government considered it opportune to extend the numbers of these machine and tractor stations, particularly in those areas where the greatest number of collective farms were concentrated. It was also decided to set up a special all-Union centre for tractors and machinery.

An important role in preparing the ground for the mass collectivisation of agriculture was played by simple forms of cooperation. By autumn 1927 about one third of all peasant farms were involved in one form or another form of agricultural cooperation. Sales and supplies were the dominant forms of such cooperation, but after the 15th Party Congress the number of production associations began to grow steadily. By 1929, 13 million peasant holdings (more than 55 per cent) were part of the agricultural cooperation system.

Relations between the state and the agricultural associations were based on a system of contracts concluded between the cooperative and state organisations on the one hand and the individual peasant farmers on the other. The peasants undertook to produce and deliver agricultural produce, while the state and cooperative organisations undertook to provide the means of production, to offer credit and to organise trade in industrial goods. The state did everything it could to encourage the formation of collective farms, which were given increased credits, priority in obtaining tractors and machinery and considerable privileges in respect of agricultural taxation. In 1927 the All-Russia Collective Farm Centre was set up to exercise direct supervision over the building of collective farms.

Another important role in preparing the ground for collectivisation was played by the state farms. At a plenary session of the CPSU(B) Central Committee in 1928 it was decided to set up a number of large-scale grain growing farms in the RSFSR and in the Ukraine so as to provide a powerful impetus for the socialisation of peasant agriculture.

The new state farms differed considerably from the older ones. Whereas the latter had been formed on the basis of the old

landowners' estates and had to make use of the old equipment and buildings that were left over, the new state farms were equipped with the most advanced farm machinery and were largely situated in the virgin and fallow lands.

The state farms were an incentive to the peasantry to join the collective-farm movement. They were tangible proof of the superiority of large-scale socialist production in agriculture and they also provided considerable aid to the local peasant farmers. Such aid involved the organisation of centres where machinery could be repaired and hired, animals bred and grain cleaned and shelled for the poor and middle peasant households.

Peasant delegations visited the state farms from all over the country to see the agricultural machinery, the reputation of which had spread for hundreds of miles.

After the 15th Party Congress the offensive against the kulaks was intensified. Limitations were imposed on the hiring of labour and taxes on the kulak holdings were increased. From 1926 the kulaks were no longer allowed to buy tractors. At the same time the working peasants and the collective farms were given new privileges. The policy of proletarian dictatorship in the village was designed to strengthen the proletarian influence, unite the poor and middle peasants against the kulaks and increase the participation of the poor peasants in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

The working class participated directly in both the preparations for collectivisation and its implementation. From 1928 to 1930 alone not less than 250 thousands men were sent from the towns and industrial centres to work in the villages. Of particular importance was the "25,000 movement" who were sent out in accordance with a directive from the November Plenum of the Central Committee in 1929[1]. Those workers who were sent were staunch and convinced Leninists and good propagandists. They brought to the countryside the wealth of experience they had accumulated in industry in the creation of large-scale Soviet production and highly skilled labour.

The preparations for the solid collectivisation of agriculture

[1] In fact the "25,000 movement" to the village included more than 27,500 workers.

in Central Asia, Kazakhstan and other republics of the Soviet East were very different. Here an important role was played by the land, water and livestock reforms of 1925-1929 which were intended to do away with pre-capitalist, feudal and patriarchal relations. In the course of these reforms the landed estates of the feudals were taken over together with part of the land owned by the kulaks.

The preparations for mass collectivisation took place amid acute ideological struggle within the Party itself. The general line of the Party was opposed by a Right opposition headed by Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky. Objectively they expressed the interests of the kulaks and other well-off elements in the villages that were opposed to the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Bukharin's group were opposed to emergency measures being taken against the kulaks. They were in favour of refraining from an all-out drive against them claiming that it was necessary to wait until the kulaks themselves "grew into socialism" and the class struggle died down. But these views of the Right opposition ran counter to the Marxist theory of the class struggle and to Lenin's cooperative plan. To have them implemented would inevitably have led to undermining the plan for socialist construction.

The Party as a whole were against the Right opposition with the result that the latter were defeated ideologically. The November 1929 Plenum of the CPSU(B) Central Committee considered the propaganda of the views of the Right opposition to be incompatible with membership in the Communist Party. The leaders of the Right opposition were removed from the leading posts they held.

The enormous effort that was put into preparing the ground for the mass collective-farm movement after the 15th Party Congress bore fruit in the rapid growth of socialist elements in agriculture. By the summer of 1929 there were four times as many collective farms as in 1927, while the total number of collectivised holdings was more than five times as many as in that year. These included almost 4 per cent of all poor and middle peasant holdings. The main cooperative form among the peasantry were the associations for the joint cultivation of land.

In the harvest of 1929 the state received 130 million poods

of marketable grain, i.e., more than the total amount provided by the kulaks in 1926-1927.

The strengthening of the socialist elements in agriculture signified that the offensive against the last bulwark of capitalism in the USSR was in the offing.

4. THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The Plan and Its Objectives

The first five-year plan was designed to run from the economic year 1928/29 to 1932/33. It was drawn up according to directives of the 15th Party Congress.

These directives laid down the main economic objectives of the plan, the principles upon which it was to be compiled and its overall aims.

On a suggestion from G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, Chairman of the State Planning Committee (Gosplan) two variants of the five-year plan were made—an initial (minimal) and an optimal plan. The objectives of the optimal variant were approximately 20 per cent higher than those of the initial variant.

Gosplan called in the country's foremost specialists to draw up the five-year plan and conferences were held with their participation to discuss important problems of economic development. They did much in providing a scientific grounding for the planned targets.

The drawing up of the first five-year plan took place amid an atmosphere of acute struggle. The old bourgeois specialists, whose experience came largely from pre-revolutionary Russia and the capitalist countries, held that the rates of industrial development envisaged by the Party should be considerably reduced.

The question of industrial development rates became of fundamental importance. On its solution depended such cardinal problems as the Soviet Union's development into a huge industrial power, its technological and economic independence, the strengthening of its defence capabilities and the consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

The November Plenum voted in favour of high industrial development rates, setting the first year's target at an increase of 20 per cent. Target figures for the five-year plan were published on December 15, 1928 for the purpose of a nationwide discussion. At the 16th Party Conference in April 1929 the optimal variant of the first five-year plan was approved and later endorsed at the Fifth Congress of Soviets in May of the same year.

The specific objectives of the first five-year plan were the embodiment of the Leninist policy pursued by the Party for the building of socialism in the USSR. The first five-year plan was primarily a plan for the socialist industrialisation of the country. It ensured the maximum development of the production of the means of production as the basis of industrialisation and for strengthening the country's defences and providing for its economic and technological independence.

Capital investments in the national economy during the first five-year plan amounted to 64.5 billion roubles, of which 19.5 billion were earmarked for capital construction in industry. In the preceding period capital investments in industry had amounted to only 5.2 billion roubles, and the greater part of this had been spent on basic repairs and the restoration of old enterprises.

The greater part of state capital investments went into heavy industry and these investments were to increase year by year. The reason for this lay in the main objective of the five-year plan as a whole, which was to turn the USSR from an agrarian-industrial country into a highly developed industrial power that was capable of technologically re-equipping the whole of its national economy.

The first five-year plan also set down the main targets for the agricultural collectivisation programme. Thus it was envisaged that by the end of the five-year period 4-5 million peasant holdings and 17.5 per cent of the total sowing area would become part of the socialised sector.

As for culture, it was planned to introduce universal compulsory primary education and do away completely with illiteracy among all persons under 40 years of age. Skilled workers were to be trained for all branches of the economy, and more schools and cultural institutions were to be built. Thus the first five-year

plan was a plan for the country's industrialisation and the collectivisation of agriculture. It was the plan for a socialist offensive along the whole front.

The Socialist Emulation Assumes a Mass Scale

The first five-year plan was begun in October 1928 and it became a source of inspiration to the working class and all the other working people encouraging them to perform great feats of labour heroism. In 1929, the first full year of the five-year plan, socialist emulation reached new heights. It caught on rapidly and soon developed into a mass movement among the working class, largely as a result of the publication in *Pravda* on January 20, 1929 of an article by Lenin, entitled "How to Organise Competition?" The article stressed that only socialism makes it possible to use competition "on a really *wide* and on a really *mass* scale, for actually drawing the majority of working people into a field of labour in which they can display their abilities, develop the capacities, and reveal those talents, so abundant among the people whom capitalism crushed, suppressed and strangled in thousands and millions".[1]

Lenin's ideas for socialist emulation served as an inspiration for the masses and became one of the greatest motive forces of socialist construction.

In January 1929 a broad campaign was launched at many enterprises to strengthen labour discipline, increase the productivity of labour and lower production costs. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* came out with an appeal to organise a nationwide competition for lowering production costs and improving quality. This appeal met with a wide response throughout the whole country. At the same time socialist emulation was being extensively developed among the miners of the Donbas. In February 1929 miners from the Kuzbas and Moscow coalfields joined the movement as did the miners from the Urals, making it a nationwide competition among all miners.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "How to Organise Competition?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 404.

On March 5, 1929 workers at the Krasny Vyborzhets Plant in Leningrad appealed through the pages of *Pravda* for a competition among workers of all plants and factories of the USSR and ten days later at this same factory a team of castings chippers of tube rolling shop signed one of the first socialist emulation agreements.

This roused the whole country.

By the end of April 1929 almost all the large-scale industrial enterprises in the country were involved in socialist emulation, but greatest number of competitors came from the metal workers and miners.

On May 9, 1929 the Central Committee of the Party passed a resolution entitled "On Socialist Emulation at the Plants and Factories" in which attention was directed to the need for socialist emulation to be directly orientated towards the objectives of the first five-year plan. These included fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan, reducing production costs, raising the productivity of labour and enforcing better labour discipline. The Central Committee stressed in the resolution that socialist emulation was not just another campaign, but a permanent method of work, and it warned against the danger of such emulation degenerating into a shouting match between officials divorced from the masses.

Whereas during the early part of 1929 it was emulation agreements between enterprises and groups of enterprises that were most common, in the latter part of the year attention came to be largely focused on competition within individual enterprises—between shop floors, between teams and even between individual workers. The shock-worker movement intensified and the number of shock workers engaged in production grew apace.

Among the workers a movement arose to voluntarily increase output quotas and decrease tariffs. Then there were teams which undertook to "catch up and overtake the capitalist countries". In Leningrad a skilled painter by the name of Pyotr Slobodchikov suggested working on one of his days off for the benefit of socialist industrialisation. This proposal was immediately taken up all over Leningrad and eventually over the whole country. On August 6, 1929 the whole country celebrated its first Industrialisation Day.

As a result of this upsurge in intensive labour activity, it now became entirely feasible to shorten the original target dates for the plan. "Fulfil the Five-Year Plan in Four Years" became the slogan at many enterprises and this was quickly taken up by the working people.

At the First All-Union Congress of Shock Brigades, which opened in Moscow on December 5, 1929 an analysis was made of the experience gained in developing socialist emulation during the first year of the five-year plan. The Congress was attended by 820 delegates. It appealed to all the workers of the country to swell the ranks of those participating in socialist emulation, to increase the shock brigades and to fulfil the five-year plan in four years.

Thus the first year of the five-year plan had shown that the chosen rates of industrial development were not only feasible, but could even be increased. And so the drive to fulfil the five-year plan in four years went into full swing.

The Development of Industrialisation and the Abolition of Unemployment in the USSR

The policy of the Party and the Soviet working class to accelerate the development of socialist industry was endorsed by the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), which was held in June and July 1930.

The Congress proposed increasing the rate of development of ferrous metallurgy and building the country's second coal and metallurgical base, the Uralo-Kuznetsky combine, using vast coal and iron-ore deposits of the Urals and Siberia. In accordance with this proposal the Congress recommended that construction work on the Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk plants should go ahead at a much faster rate. According to a resolution of the Congress, entitled "On the Collective-Farm Movement and Agricultural Development" concrete measures were outlined for the further development of collectivisation and the strengthening of the collective-farm movement.

As a result of the successes achieved in industrialisation and collectivisation it became essential to encourage more and more

workers and peasants, particularly the shock-workers at the plants, factories and collective farms, to participate actively in the Soviets. It was this task that formed the centre of the election campaign in late 1930-early 1931.

The elections to the Soviets at which 72 per cent of the electorate turned out showed the enormous growth of political consciousness and activism among the masses.

But as socialism progressively advanced along the whole front the resistance of the ousted classes became more stubborn. Anti-Soviet organisations such as still remained in the USSR began to step up their activity. Thus, between 1929 and 1930 wreckers were discovered in the transport industry, in the gold and platinum industry and in the food industry. One such organisation was the Industrial Party, as they were called, who carried out anti-Soviet wrecking and sabotage while maintaining close ties with former Russian capitalists abroad. The leaders of this "party" were agents of the imperialist intelligence services, which were still nurturing plans of intervention against the Soviet Union.

Another anti-Soviet organisation, calling itself the "Labour Peasant Party" was headed by the kulak ideologists Kondratyev and Chayanov. One more link in this chain of bourgeois organisations was the "Union Bureau of Mensheviks", which was formed at the same time as the Industrial Party in 1928.

In late 1930-early 1931 these anti-Soviet organisations were uncovered and brought to trial. The trial of the Industrial Party took place in November 1930 and in March 1931 the Supreme Court of the USSR started hearing the case of the "Union Bureau of Mensheviks". This court case ended the whole shameful history of Menshevism. During the Industrial Party hearings mass patriotic demonstrations were held in Moscow and other major towns of the USSR.

The working class and the peasantry countered these wrecking and sabotage attempts with increased efforts to complete the five-year plan and strengthen the country's defence.

The foundation of the first five-year plan was the gigantic building programme, under which 1,500 industrial enterprises were being built. Most important among these were enormous automobile and tractor works, heavy machine-building plants,

power stations and chemical and metallurgical combines. It was these plants which ensured the industrial might of the USSR, strengthened its defence capabilities and laid the ground work for the technical and economic independence of the country.

During the first five-year plan the Soviet Union built for the first time a new type of enterprises—a powerful industrial combines with dozens of various production lines equipped with all the latest developments in science and technology.

This vast scale of construction work demanded better economic management and socialist planning. In November 1930 V. V. Kuibyshev was appointed Chairman of the State Planning Commission and G. K. Orjonikidze, Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council. The appointment of these talented organisers did much to improve the work of both these bodies.[1]

The 16th Party Congress also decided to change the scale and type of enterprises that had been planned for the Urals and the Kuzbas. Here the metallurgical and machine-building factories as well as the mines and power stations were to considerably increase their capacity and output. Thus the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine, which was originally planned as a "standard type" enterprise with an annual output of 650,000 tonnes of pig iron, was increased in size to produce 4 million tonnes.

One of the largest projects of the first five-year plan was the Dnieper hydroelectric power station. Work on this power station was begun in 1927, and during the early 1930s was conducted on a massive scale. It was officially opened on October 10, 1932.

During the five-year plan period dozens of major machine-building enterprises were built. The gigantic Uralmash heavy machinery plant in the Urals and the Novo-Kramatorsk plant, a similar type of enterprise, in the Ukraine, were in terms of output and equipment unequalled in the whole of Europe. They produced all the main types of machinery for the mining and metallurgical industries, and thereby made the Soviet Union complete-

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[1] In 1930 the first step was taken towards the breaking of the Supreme Economic Council into smaller units. The food industry was put under the control of the newly-organised Peoples' Commissariat for Supplies. In January 1932 the Supreme Economic Council was divided into the People's Commissariats for the heavy, light and timber industries.

ly self-sufficient in the production of metallurgical equipment.

Great advances were also made in the manufacture of tractors. On June 17, 1930 the Stalingrad Tractor Works began production—the first of many similar plants to be built throughout the Soviet Union. It was soon followed by the rapidly built tractor plants in Kharkov and Chelyabinsk. By the end of the first five-year plan period the country was producing up to 80,000 tractors per year.

Great strides forward were also made in the automobile industry. A major automobile plant was built in two and a half years in Nizhny-Novgorod (now Gorky) on the Volga and the AMO car factory in Moscow was completely rebuilt as a gigantic modern automobile plant, producing 250,000 cars per year in place of 30,000 cars that used to be its maximum output.

Dozens of new large chemical combines were built under the plan: 58 of these, including the world famous combines at Berezniki (the Urals), Bobriki (near Moscow) and Khibinogorsk (in the Polar region) during the first four years.

Of considerable importance among these new combines were the synthetic rubber plants at Yaroslavl and Voronezh. They were built to the specifications of a group of Soviet chemists headed by S. V. Lebedev, whose research on the production of synthetic rubber led to the world's first synthetic rubber industry. These plants provided a whole new range of possibilities for the rubber industry, particularly in the manufacture of tyres, which were essential to the country's automobile production.

The first five-year plan also laid the foundations for the country's light industry. Dozens of modern textile enterprises were built as well as leather and footwear plants. The food industry too was modernised with the building of new sugar refineries and canning factories, meat packing combines in Moscow, Leningrad, Semipalatinsk and Baku.

All this new building and construction work was carried out in the most difficult of conditions. There was not enough machinery, materials, skilled labour, engineers or technicians. Furthermore the workers often had to live in barracks with little to eat and poor clothing.

But as industrialisation made it increasingly possible to carry out an extensive housing programme, this situation began to

change. The coming of the first excavators made the profession of navvy a thing of the past.

A gradual transition was effected from the old methods, which relied on manual labour and were seasonal, to modern mechanised methods of building which could go on all the year round.

As a result of the rapid growth of industrialisation it became possible to completely eradicate unemployment in the USSR. In October, 1929 there were 1,365,000 unemployed registered at the labour exchanges, which at the time represented some 12 per cent of the total work force. These were mostly the peasants who came flooding into the towns from the villages in estimated numbers of up to three million a year in search of work. Many left the countryside for good and remained in the towns to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Furthermore there were also the urban youth, the housewives and the demobbed soldiers who were without work.

But this unemployment was non-industrial in character. Almost half of those registered at the labour exchanges were unskilled workers.

During the first year of the five-year plan there was both an absolute and a relative reduction in the army of unemployed. The accelerated rates of industrialisation brought about a considerable growth of the working class and the introduction of a seven-hour day in industry also had its effect. At the same time mass collectivisation increased the demand for qualified workers in agriculture.

The enormous scale of industrial construction meant that there was a great demand for building workers. But during the first year of the plan it became clear that there were nowhere near enough workers in the coal, timber and peat-producing industries. At the same time the demand for skilled workers and specialists also rocketed.

Thus under these conditions of accelerated industrial construction the problem of unemployment began to give way to labour shortages. On October 1, 1930 the number of registered unemployed had fallen to 140,000 and the labour exchanges could not meet the demand for labour. By the end of the second year of the five-year plan they had over a million job offers.

The problem of unemployment was conclusively solved. This

historical victory was announced by the Party Central Committee on October 20, 1930 with the words: "The enormous success achieved in socialist industrialisation and the high rates of collective and state farm development completely ended unemployment in the USSR."[1]

The Efforts to Master Technology

The reconstruction of the national economy and the building of modern industrial enterprises made it necessary for Soviet workers to master the latest technological developments. But this was made particularly difficult due to the generally low level of industrial or technological training.

These difficulties applied especially to new enterprises, notably those in operation during the first years of the plan. This can be clearly seen from the example of the Stalingrad Tractor Works. For a long time after the plant came into operation in June 1930, its work force was unable to master mass production techniques and reach design capacity.

This inability to master new technological achievements quickly presented a serious threat to subsequent industrial development and the fulfilment of the plan. Thus the need to master new technological processes became one of the most important tasks facing the reconstruction of the national economy.

Questions relating to these difficulties, and the improvement of economic management formed the subject of two conferences of economists, which were called by the Party Central Committee in 1931[2].

In January 1931 the First All-Union Conference of Workers in Socialist Industry was held. It was attended by directors of enterprises, foremen of building sites, chairmen of trusts and amalgamations and shock-workers from all branches of industry. The slogans of the conference were "The Bolsheviks must master technology" and "In the reconstruction period technology de-

[1] *Pravda,* October 22, 1930.

[2] In 1931 the Government decided that the economic year would be counted from January 1 instead of October 1, as in the past. The period from October 1, 1930 until January 1, 1931 was called a special quarter.

cides everything". These slogans became the focus of attention for all Party, trade-union and economic organisations.

A conference of economists held in June 1931 drew up a programme designed to meet the new conditions. In the report delivered by V. V. Kuibyshev on the course of the industrialisation programme and in the speeches of the other leaders an analysis was given of the state of industrial development and targets were set for achieving further improvements in this field. Speeches were also delivered at the conference by many of the heads of the economic organisations and of the major enterprises and building projects.

As a result of the rapid development of industrial construction, the abolition of unemployment and the mass formation of collective and state farms the conference set a number of targets for those occupying key posts in industry. They consisted in introducing the organised, planned selection of manpower in place of the spontaneous flow that existed in the past; introducing wage differentials in place of the equalisation system; enhancing personal responsibility and improving the organisation of labour; introduction and strengthening the system of cost-accounting and increasing industrial savings; encouraging the old intelligentsia to participate in socialist construction; and creating a new technological intelligentsia from among the ranks of the working class and the peasantry.

To implement these tasks the Party and the Government took a number of measures designed to improve the work of industry and train new technical personnel.

A decree of the Party Central Committee expanded the network of industrial academies, that is to say the higher educational establishments for the training of managerial personnel. The number of technical institutes and technical colleges was also to be increased, and much emphasis was given to technological propaganda in the media. A society calling itself "Technology for the Masses" was also formed to help spread technological knowledge.

Of paramount importance in the drive to master technology was the organisation of sandwich courses at the enterprises. Many of the enterprises began to hold examinations in technical subjects and this system was widely extended in later years. These examinations and the possession of an obligatory minimum of tech-

nical knowledge became one of the most effective forms of mastering technology and raising the qualifications of the working class.

Socialist emulation played an enormous role in fulfilling the first five-year plan ahead of time and accelerating the development rates of socialist industrialisation. During the first five-year plan three-quarters of the total work force of the country participated in the emulation. This meant that the struggle to complete the five-year plan, to raise the productivity of labour and to develop socialist industry became the objective of millions. Ahead of the socialist emulation movement were the shock-workers. The shock brigades which sprung up during the first years of industrialisation became the main form of socialist emulation under the first five-year plan. They helped forge a new attitude to work and strengthen socialist production discipline.

The shock-workers were the first to adopt new and more advanced methods. They were the first to master the new technology and technological know-how. Their productivity of labour was the very highest.

The new system produced a new type of person. And they were not only Party and Komsomol members—the whole country, for instance, took pride in the achievements of such workers as Andrei Philippov and Mirsaid Arduanov. As illiterate village lads they came to work at construction sites (one at the Kuznetsk project, the other at the Berezniki project), where they soon became leaders of shock brigades. As a result of their tremendous efforts they were awarded the honorary title of the best shock-workers in Siberia and the Urals.

In the early thirties the shock-workers were the initiators of many countrywide movements. In summer 1930, after the 16th Party Congress took the decision to increase the development rates of the first five-year plan, the workers at the Karl Marx plant in Leningrad appealed through the pages of *Pravda* to all work collectives in the country to increase the plan targets at all levels from the individual brigade to the enterprise as a whole.

Such counterplanning was of great national economic importance. Drawing up their counter-plans, thousands of workers became participants in management and learned how production is organised, and how to search out untapped potentialities.

It was during the first five-year plan that one of the fundamental principles of socialist emulation—comradely mutual assistance—became widespread. Through mass initiative a form was discovered by which the advanced enterprises gave help to those that still lagged behind. The first brigade of shock-workers to put this into practice was formed at the Artem mine in the Donbas. In a short time the advanced workers were able to show up the shortcomings in the less advanced section and thereby help bridge the gap between them.

In 1932 there was a competition for the best system of production training for new workers. The scheme was initiated by Nikita Izotov, a miner from Donetsk, who overfulfilled his norm four to five times. In his section he organised an exchange of advanced experience and gave persistent and thorough training to his apprentices, who benefited from the wealth of his experience.

Izotov's example was followed all over the country. The effectiveness of the movement lay in the fact that the participants, having gained technological skills, not only produced high production figures themselves, but also helped other young workers to do the same. The main concern of the Izotovite movement was that all the workers should fulfill their production plans.

The socialist emulation drive became a major political and industrial force under the first five-year plan. It stimulated the masses to participate actively, to show initiative and to display their creative powers. It became a powerful means of mobilising the working people for the implementation of Lenin's industrialisation plan.

The Establishment of the Collective-Farm System in the Most Important Grain-Growing Regions of the Country

The growth of the collective farms which was noted in 1928 and early 1929 did not mean that a radical change had occurred among the mass of the peasantry in favour of the collective farm system. It still largely remained a movement among the poorer sections of the peasantry.

It was not until the latter half of 1929 that radical changes began to occur in the collective farm movement. From June 1 until October 1 of that year more than 900,000 peasant holdings, i.e., almost as many as had joined the movement in the twelve years since the October Revolution, organised into collective farms. By the end of the year the collective-farm system comprised 4.3 million peasant holdings, which represented some 20 per cent of the total number of poor and middle peasant holdings.

In some areas the majority of peasant farms were collectivised.

Changes also took place in the social composition of the collective-farm movement. From being largely supported by the poor peasants, the movement gradually took root among the middle and poor peasants. As the middle peasant—the central figure in the Soviet pre-collectivised village—joined the collective farms the movement became massive in the main grain-producing areas.

During the second half of 1929 when some areas were beginning to be fully collectivised, the peasants that had joined the collective farms started to approach the problem of liquidating the kulaks as a class. The land that had belonged to these former exploiters was given over to the collective farms, while the kulaks themselves were treated variously according to the circumstances. In some instances the collective farmers' meetings decided to permit the former kulaks to enter the collective farms on condition that they handed over all their main means of production to the joint possession of the collective farm. In other cases the kulaks were not allowed into the collective farms and driven out.

Realising the fate that was about to descend on them the kulaks stepped up the class war in the villages. They formed into counter-revolutionary organisations, committed acts of terrorism and wrecking and launched a propaganda campaign against the collective farms.

The kulaks who joined the collective farms did everything they could to hamper their work and disrupt their economy. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that the working peasantry in a number of regions in late 1929 began demanding that the kulaks be driven out of the areas where mass collectivisation had taken

place. Thus the November Plenum of the CPSU(B) Central Committee decided after careful consideration of what was taking place not to allow the kulaks into the collective farms.

Though the policy of restricting the kulaks, which had been pursued until the beginning of complete collectivisation, checked the growth of capitalist elements in the villages, it did not bring about their liquidation. The fact that it was still permitted by law to rent land and hire labour made it possible for the kulaks to exist. But mass collectivisation raised the issue of a transition to a new class policy and a new attitude to the village bourgeoisie.

In order to find a rapid and correct solution to a number of practical problems arising from the mass collectivisation of agriculture the Politbureau of the Central Committee set up a commission in December 1929 to be headed by Ya. A. Yakovlev, People's Commissar for Agriculture. The commission prepared a draft resolution for the Central Committee entitled "The Rate of Collectivisation and State Measures to Assist Collective-Farm Development". This was adopted on January 5, 1930 and it formulated the main theses for the new policy and outlined a plan for its implementation.

The resolution was a reflection of the most important Leninist principles for uniting the peasants in the collective farms. These were the voluntary and gradual nature of collectivisation, the need to have regard for the distinctive features of the various regions of the country and the leading role of the state in promoting the formation of the collective farms and providing them with material aid. At the same time it was also a concrete plan for collectivisation. It set deadlines for the socialist transformation of the most important agricultural regions of the USSR, it established, on the basis of practical experience, that the *artel* should be the main form for collectivisation, it forebade the entry of the kulaks into the collective farms and it provided for supplementary resources to be allocated for the purpose of the socialist restructuring of the village.

A Central Committee resolution of January 5, 1930 endorsed the new policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class on the basis of mass collectivisation. The local organs of Soviet power were authorised to confiscate the property of the kulaks and drive them out of the various regions and provinces.

The kulaks were divided into three categories, only the first of which (those who organised armed gangs, committed murder or acts of terrorism) were punished under the law. The second group were sent to the far-off regions of the country and the third were allowed to remain where they were, but they were given land outside the collective farm. The kulaks of the second group were resettled with their families to Siberia, the North or the Urals. There they either worked as hired labour at the state or cooperative enterprises, where they received the same wages as the other workers, or they were organised into production cooperatives. The third category which accounted for some 75% of the total kulak population were allowed to keep the necessary property and implements for working their land.

The dispossession of the kulaks was not simply an administrative measure. Special commissions made up of members of the village Soviets and groups of poor peasants took an inventory of kulak property, most of which went straight into the indivisible fund of the collective farm. The kulak houses were turned into reading-rooms, clubs and schools.

The rate of collectivisation, which had been established by the CPSU(B) Central Committee resolution of January 5, 1930, was high, but perfectly feasible. It took account of the degree to which the peasants in the various regions were prepared for complete collectivisation, emphasising that it should be introduced gradually. The Central Committee gave serious warnings "against any attempts whatsoever to force the collective-farm movement by 'decrees' from above". This directive of the Central Committee however, was not always observed.

Some persons in authority ceased to have regard for the real conditions prevailing in the villages and the mood of the peasantry. The directives of the local authorities in a number of areas began to be implemented through administrative measures. Individual peasants were forced into collective farms under the threat of dispossession and disfranchisement. In some areas the percentage of the dispossessed and disfranchised was as high as 15-20 per cent, while the real kulak stratum was never more than 4-5 per cent. Incidents of the forced socialisation of dwelling houses, farm animals, fowl and allotments became increasingly widespread.

Other mistakes were also made. There were attempts to jump over the *artel* directly to the commune, considered at the time to be the highest form of the collective-farm movement. The communards socialised not only the basic means of production (as members of the *artel*), but also the dwelling houses, farm animals and fowl, dividing all their profits up equally. In other cases, particularly in the grain-producing areas, there were attempts to set up giant collective farms.

On the whole these mistakes could be explained by lack of experience in implementing collectivisation and lack of knowledge of the ways and means of building socialism in the countryside. But these mistakes were seized upon by the kulaks. They urged the peasants to slaughter their livestock before going into the collective farms and they engaged in anti-collective farm and even anti-Soviet actions. In this uncertain situation part of the peasantry began to hesitate and there were mass walkouts from the collective farms. Great damage was done to the livestock with the result that by the summer of 1930 the number of cattle in the country had been reduced by almost one-quarter.

The situation was particularly serious in the national regions of the East and the other economically backward areas. Many of the local authorities had not prepared the necessary conditions for collectivisation and had mechanically applied measures to their areas which were adopted only in the areas of complete collectivisation.

The Party Central Committee drew attention to distortions of the Party line and extremes in the collective-farm movement. On January 30, 1930 it sent a directive to all Party organisations condemning the mistaken practice of dispossession in areas not covered by complete collectivisation.

On March 1 of the same year the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars approved new Model Rules of the Agricultural Artel clearly defining which possessions were subject to socialisation.

On March 2, Stalin's article, "Dizzy with Success" was published in *Pravda*, which condemned the mistakes that had been made and explained the Party line in collectivisation. The article directed the attention of Party members to correcting the mistakes and extremes that had so far occurred.

On March 14, 1930 the CPSU(B) Central Committee adopted a resolution entitled "On Combatting the Distortions of the Party Line in the Collective-Farm Movement", which played an important role in correcting the mistakes. The Central Committee obliged local Party organisations to cease the practice of forced collectivisation, to stop the agricultural *artels* from being turned into communes and to correct the mistakes that had been made over the dispossession campaign.

These measures helped to overcome the distortions and extremes and consolidate the real level of collectivisation that had been reached.

In autumn 1930 a new upsurge began in the collective-farm movement. By then the material and production base of the collectivisation had strengthened and the work of the local Party organisations and village Soviets had been stepped up.

In 1930 the collective farms achieved good economic results. They produced one-third of the gross and marketable output of grain, which was between 10 and 15 per cent higher than the harvest of the individual farms. Furthermore the income of the collective farmers was greater than that of the individual farmers, and that was of decisive significance for the subsequent development of collectivisation.

By June 1, 1931 more than half of the country's peasant holdings (52.7 per cent) had been collectivised.

By the end of the first five-year plan complete collectivisation had largely been completed throughout the RSFSR, Moldavia, the Ukraine, in the cotton-growing areas of Central Asia and in the grain and industrial crops regions of Kazakhstan, i.e., in all the most important agricultural regions of the country.

The Efforts to Strengthen the Economy and Organisation of the Collective Farms

Replacing the old relations of production in the village by new, socialist relations was a process that was fraught with enormous difficulties. These were due primarily to the lack of experience in the building of socialism and the vast scale and rapid rate of the socialist reorganisation of the millions of peasant farms. Dur-

ing the period of mass collectivisation two state farms, one or two machine and tractor stations, and approximately 115 collective farms were being set up every day. But the growth of the material and technical basis of collective farms lagged behind the rates of social transformation. Thus, for example, in 1932, when the social transformation of the villages had largely been completed throughout the country, not more than 20 per cent of agricultural work in the collective farms had been mechanised. The collective farms experienced an acute shortage of skilled workers and managerial staff, which had somehow to be made up during the course of complete collectivisation.

By entering the collective farm the peasant had broken with his individual holding and become one of the builders of socialist society, but the survivals of private-owner mentality still continued to influence him. Vestiges of this obsolete, but still tenacious psychology could be seen, for example, in the fact that even after entering the collective farm the peasant still tried to work with his "own" equipment, with his "own" horses and on his "own" former strip of land. This held up the formation of brigades in the collective farms and hindered the proper organisation of labour.

Until the start of mass collectivisation and even during its first years there existed a variety of forms of payment and a variety of ways for the distribution of income. Some of the collective farms distributed their income according to needs, or the number of mouths to be fed, others according to the number of workers and others still according to what each individual had put in to the collective. The system of distributing income to each member equally resulted in undermining the material incentive of the collective farmers to improve their output.

But gradually in the process of socialist construction valuable experience was acquired on the organisation of labour in the collective farms. And it was a matter of great concern to the Party and the Government to analyse and make widely known the results of this experience. All-Union conferences were held to discuss the most expedient forms for the organisation of labour and payment for the work done. At the first of these (January 1931) a recommendation was made to pay collective farmers piece-work on a day-to-day basis. The Sixth All-Union Congress of Soviets,

which was held in March 1931, approved the "work-day" as the general unit for measuring the quality and quantity of labour on all collective farms, therefore as the main principle governing the distribution of the collective-farm income.

This system ensured the correct combination of the social and personal interests of the collective farmers and was at the same time the most feasible form for the calculation and distribution of the collective-farm income. The work-day became an important economic stimulus for raising the material interest of the collective farmers in developing the collective economy.

The correct organisation of labour on the collective farms required the formation of standing production brigades. This was the conclusion reached at the Second All-Union Conference (January 1932) which considered the brigade, comprising a permanent team of farm workers, as the basis of collective farm production. It was therefore proposed that all collective farms form such brigades as from the spring of 1932.

To increase the material interest of the collective farmers in the results of their labour and develop the trade turnover between town and country the Soviet Government in May 1932 gave collective farms and collective-farm workers the right to sell on the open markets whatever remained of their produce after the grain delivery and sowing plans had been completed. This trade was freed from taxation or dues.

Of course, the difficulties that faced the collective-farm movement in its early stages were thoroughly exploited by the class enemy. Though in the course of mass collectivisation the kulaks had been largely done away with as an exploiter class, dispossessed kulaks who had not been driven out from the areas where mass collectivisation had taken place exerted a negative influence.

Full collectivisation compelled them to change their tactics. Being unable to oppose the collective farms openly, kulak elements that had wormed their way into collective farms carried on wrecking and sabotage. They tried to break down labour discipline on the collective farms, infected the horses with various diseases, put tractors out of action and wrecked threshing machines and other farm machinery.

To combat these acts by the class enemies the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars passed a law (August 7, 1932) on the protection of socialist property. Severe punishments were handed out to those caught stealing or damaging collective-farm or cooperative property.

In 1931 and 1932 agricultural output fell. The collective and state farms were still weak both organisationally and economically and could not produce high qualitative results or make full and immediate use of the advantages of large-scale socialist production. Agricultural production was still largely extensive in character. Furthermore these years saw very poor weather conditions. Thus, despite the quantitative increase in sowing area, the gross yields were down from 4.5 billion poods in the pre-collectivisation period to 4.3 billion. The recorded increased production of industrial crops was only achieved by expanding the sowing areas.

The greatest difficulties were found in livestock breeding, which suffered considerably from wreckers and saboteurs. Between 1928 and 1932, the livestock population in the country as a whole was almost halved.

But the difficulties and shortcomings that faced agriculture were of a temporary nature. "It would be ridiculous to expect," said a resolution of the Party's Central Committee Plenum in January 1933, "that all these numerous new large-scale farms established in a rural setting of cultural and technical backwardness, should instantly, in the space of one year, become highly productive, model enterprises."[1] The Plenum stressed that using the advantages of a large-scale socialised economy the state and collective farms were fully capable in the near future of becoming model economies.

The Results of the First Five-Year Plan

The Soviet people fulfilled the first Five-Year Plan in four years and three months. During this period they created a powerful and technologically advanced industry, developing new sectors

[1] *The CPSU in Resolutions*, . ., Vol. 5, p. 84.

that had either not existed or hardly existed in pre-revolutionary Russia. Such sectors included the tractor, automobile, aviation, chemical and machine-tool industry.

The development of the machine-building industry was particularly rapid, as befitted that sector which formed the basis for the technological restructuring of the whole national economy. Here the five-year plan was completed in three years.

This rapid growth of the production of the means of production brought about radical changes in the sectoral structure of industry. In 1913 the production of the means of production accounted for 33.3 per cent. By 1928 this figure had risen to 39.5 per cent and by the end of the five-year plan in 1932 it stood at 53.4 per cent.

The fall in the share of light industry as against heavy industry took place at a time when light industrial production actually increased in absolute terms, although at a slower rate than heavy industry. Thus, while gross industrial output more than doubled during the first five-year plan, the output of heavy industry (group A) almost trebled, whereas that of light industry (group B) only rose by fifty per cent.

These rapid rates of industrial development, achieved under socialism, resulted in a vast qualitative and qantitative growth of the working class. The overall number of industrial and office workers from 1928 to 1932 went up from 11.5 million to 22.9 million. The number of workers in heavy industry rose from 3 million to 6.5 million The rate of increase in the number of workers in heavy industry and in building was particularly rapid.

Two-thirds (approximately 8.5 million) of this new work force came from the villages. This caused acute problems in the training of skilled workers during the first five-year plan and to a considerable extent explained the fact that many of the qualitative targets were left influfilled. The enormous work that was put into increasing the qualifications of the industrial work force only began to bring dividends towards the end of the first five-year plan, when hundreds of thousands of seasonal workers were made skilled workers.

Also the number of industrial and office workers rose sharply in relation to the total population of the country. During the first

five-year plan the private hire of a work force was done away with. This had the effect of increasing the leading role of the working class in the building of socialist society and did even more to strengthen the class basis of the Soviet state.

During the first five-year plan period the country achieved major successes in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism. As a result of the economic crisis which hit the capitalist world between 1929 and 1932 industrial production there was cut by one-third, while during the same period industrial output in the USSR more than doubled. This rate of industrial development was unheard of not only in pre-revolutionary Russia but also in all the other capitalist countries throughout their entire history.

Under the first five-year plan the Soviet Union imported a considerable amount of machinery and equipment. Three-fifths of all the machinery and equipment imported into the country during the twenty years from 1917 to 1937 came during the years of the first five-year plan. At that time the Soviet Union made comparatively extensive use of foreign technology. Soviet specialists and workers visited plants in the United States, Germany, Britain and France, while foreign engineers participated in the construction of major enterprises in the USSR. But as the USSR began itself to produce modern large-scale machinery, these purchases of foreign equipment became fewer. Whereas in 1913 63.8 per cent of industrial equipment was imported and on the eve of the first five-year plan these figures were still as high as 32.5 per cent, by the end of the five-year plan in 1932, they had dropped to 12.7 per cent. Thus, one of the fundamental objectives of the first five-year plan had been achieved—turning the USSR from an importer of machinery into a producer.

As a result of fulfilling the first five-year plan the USSR took its place among the technologically and economically developed countries of the world. By 1932 its gross industrial output accounted for 70.7 per cent of the national economy and agriculture 29.3 per cent. Furthermore socialist industry had become the only form of industry. All capitalist elements in industry had been finally and irreversibly ousted.

Considerable advances were also made under the first five-year plan in the industrialisation of the Union and Autonomous re-

publics, which received huge industrial development subsidies from the central Government.

Aid to the national republics made it possible to achieve rapid rates of industrial development there. Thus whereas the volume of industrial output in the RSFSR and the Ukraine more than doubled, in Kazakhstan it more than trebled, in Byelorussia it increased almost fourfold and in Georgia, Tajikistan and Kirghizia it rose by more than five times.

This growth of industry brought about considerable increases in the size of the working class in the national republics. The overall work force engaged in large-scale industry approximately doubled in the RSFSR and the Ukraine. In Byelorussia and Georgia it more than trebled and in Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan it rose from between four to five times. But in absolute figures the number of the workers in the national republics, particularly those in the East, was still small.

As a result of the rapid industrial development in many of the national republics industrial production began to account for the greater part of the gross output of their economies. In the Ukraine and Transcaucasia industrial production was proportionally higher at the end of the five-year plan than in the USSR as a whole. Only the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan failed to overcome the predominantly agrarian slant in their economies, although the leap they made towards industrial development was very considerable.

By the end of the first five-year plan the socialist transformation of agriculture throughout the country had largely been completed. Some 15 million individual holdings whose combined sowing area comprised three-quarters of all the peasant sowing area in the country were now united into 211,000 collective farms. At the same time there were 2,446 machine and tractor stations and 4,337 state farms.

Full collectivisation had been accompanied by the technological restructuring of agriculture. There were, for instance 148,500 tractors in 1932 as against only 26.700 in 1928.

In 1932 the collective farms and state farms produced 75 per cent of gross and 85 per cent of marketable agricultural produce. Agricultural production during the years of collectivisation was largely increased as a result of expansion of the sowing area.

The output of industrial crops rose by 50-100 per cent during these years and much more marketable grain began to be produced.[1]

The system of socialist production in agriculture made it possible for the Soviet state to provide the rapidly growing urban population with the necessary minimum of food and light industry with sufficient raw materials.

Deep social changes occurred in the villages. Prior to collectivisation the peasantry to all intents and purposes did not exist as a single class. It was divided into various social groups: the poor and middle peasants, the kulaks or rural bourgeoisie, the hired labourers, who constituted an agricultural proletariat and those peasants who had already been collectivised. By the end of the first five-year plan there were no longer any more kulaks, nor were there any hired labourers, for the latter had either become workers in the state enterprises or gone into the collective farms. On the other hand, the collective farmers, who had previously constituted a minority of the rural population, were now the majority of the rural population and one of the two socialist classes that made up Soviet society.

The victory of the collective farm system brought about a new correlation of class forces in the country. The social and economic basis of Soviet power in the villages expanded. Its mainstay was now a socialist economic system and a socialist class, the collectivised peasantry, just as it was in the towns. This meant a considerable strengthening of the economic and political alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

The successes of industrialisation and collectivisation during the first five-year plan laid a firm foundation for raising the living standards and educational level of the working people. In the USSR unemployment had been done away with for ever.

By the end of the first five-year plan many collective farms could provide enough bread for the families of the conscientious workers (on average two kilos of grain were given out per workday).

[1] Before full collectivisation annual state procurement of grain comprised on average 680 million poods, whereas during the period of collectivisation this figure increased to 1.3 billion poods, i.e., almost twice as much.

The collective farmers' requirements for vegetables and animal produce were met largely by subsidiary economies.

The young collective farms spent their first savings on the construction of various buildings that would be used for economic, cultural or recreational purposes, on the purchase of livestock and agricultural equipment, and on generally increasing the indivisible funds of the collective farms.

The end of exploitation, unemployment and poverty were the historical gains won by the peasants through the fulfillment of the first five-year plan.

From 1928 onwards more than four-fifths of the enterprises in the country went over to a seven-hour working day, with a six-hour day in health-hazardous industries and mining. During the five-year plan the state increased its subsidies for grants and social insurance payments, for social security pensions, for free or very cheap holidays at rest houses or sanatoria, for the organisation of the free health services and for the payment of student grants.

The social insurance fund went up four times from 1928 to 1932, and expenditure on the health services rose 3.2 times, on education six times and on grants to students 14 times.

But at the same time the workers and peasants experienced considerable privations during the years of the first five-year plan. In particular there were difficulties over the provision of food and industrial goods. The rationing system that was introduced for bread and other products in 1928 could not be completely done away with until 1934-1935, when the collective-farm system had been finally consolidated in the countryside and the difficulties of the reorganisation period had been overcome.

The housing programme was carried out on a vast scale, but due to the great increases that had taken place among the urban population there was still an acute shortage of proper accommodation.

On the whole, the fulfillment of the first five-year plan ensured the attainment of the most important objective of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism—the laying of the foundations for a socialist economy.

The first socialist transformations in the country, which involved the nationalisation of industry, the banks and the land, began

this process, but to build an economic basis for socialism, it was necessary primarily to do away with technical and economic backwardness and turn the country into an industrial power. This was only achieved during the first five-year plan in the course of the socialist industrialisation of the country.

The full collectivisation of agriculture and the replacement of the old relations of production in the villages by new, socialist relations ensured that the economic foundations of socialism would be built. The far-reaching revolution which had taken place in the countryside had swept away the last exploiter class, the kulaks. Now the peasants, the most numerous class among the working people, had entered the path of collectivisation. Thus, the multistructured economy had been done away with. Socialist industry and agriculture now formed an integral economy and the situation in the town and the countryside was finally and irreversibly settled in favour of socialism.

Laying the foundations of a socialist economy provided scope for the subsequent development of the country's productive forces, and for strengthening the material and technical basis of socialism.

It was now necessary to complete the process of socialist industrialisation and the technological reconstruction of all sectors of the national economy through application of the latest developments in technology.

Laying the economic foundations of socialism in the USSR was of enormous international significance, for the successes achieved there strengthened the forces of democracy and socialism throughout the world.

5. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET CULTURE (1921-1932)

The Abolition of Illiteracy Campaign

In his latter articles Lenin defined the main tasks, content and laws of the cultural revolution as an integral part of the plan for building socialism in the Soviet Union. He laid special stress on the need for universal literacy.

In accordance with Lenin's ideas the All-Union Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars published in August 1923 a decree which stated that the struggle against illiteracy was the most important task facing education and one that was closely linked with the economic renewal of the country.

In the autumn of 1923 a mass voluntary society which set itself the aims of fighting illiteracy was formed with M. I. Kalinin as its chairman. The society did a great amount of work to encourage the working people to struggle against illiteracy.

According to the 1926 census the literate section of the population in the USSR as whole, had risen to 56.6 per cent (in the RSFSR the figures were 60.9 per cent as against 32 per cent in 1920). Among certain nationalities, however, the number of those illiterate was still very high: in Kazakhstan 74.8 per cent and in Uzbekistan 88.4 per cent. The targets set by the socialist reconstruction of the national economy made it essential that this burdensome inheritance from the past should be swiftly overcome.

In January 1926 the first congress of the anti-illiteracy society called upon Party, Soviet and public organisations to step up the fight against illiteracy and semi-literacy among the adult population. Hundreds of thousands participated in this work. A popular slogan at the time was: "Literate—teach the illiterate!"

In the late 1920s active participation in the struggle against illiteracy took on a new form—a cultural campaign. It was begun by a group of Muscovites, who had first organised the "soldiers of culture", or groups of literate persons capable of teaching others to read and write. By the end of the first five-year plan there were 1,200,000 such "soldiers of culture" throughout the country teaching millions to read and write. Between 1928 and 1932 some 45 million illiterate and semi-literate persons attended the special schools that were set up to combat illiteracy.

Through the work of the Party and the Government and the selfless effort of the Soviet people illiteracy had largely been stamped out among the adult population in the RSFSR, the Ukraine and certain other republics by the end of the first five-year plan. Some of the national republics, however, particularly those in the East still had a long way to go in this direction.

The cultural campaign of the working people against illiteracy

and the later introduction of universal compulsory education became, in the words of A. S. Bubnov, then People's Commissar for Education, "the organisational method of the cultural revolution".

The Transition to Universal Compulsory Primary Education

Stamping out illiteracy among the adult population was an important step in the struggle for universal literacy. At the same time it was essential to ensure that all children were given compulsory primary education, a task that took some time to accomplish. According to the decisions of the First Party Conference on National Education (held between December 1920 and January 1921) there was to be a restructuring of the secondary school system. As a result of the enormous demand for the trained workers the leaving age at the general school was temporarily lowered to 15 and the upper forms were merged with the technical schools.

In his explanation of the need to introduce seven-year education Lenin said that the Party must regard this lowering of the (leaving) age as only a practical expedient necessitated by the country's poverty and ruin.[1]

But in this connection Lenin issued a warning that the temporary merger of the upper forms with the technical schools must not result in education becoming entirely occupational. To avoid this, it was necessary, he said, first to "avoid early specialisation" and second to enlarge "*general educational* subjects ... in *all* technical schools".[2]

It was during the early years of the restoration period that the Marxist-Leninist principle of the polytechnical school began to be introduced into the education system. This principle defined the development not only of the general education schools, but

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[1] See V. I. Lenin, "The Work of the People's Commissariat for Education", *Collected Works,* Vol. 32, p. 124.

[2] V. I. Lenin, "On Polytechnical Education", *Collected Works,* Vol. 36, 1971, p. 532.

also of the vocational and technical schools. The schools at the plants and factories, the technical colleges and the schools for peasant youth were, as a rule, designed for three to four years, and included in their curricula not only technical subjects, but also general educational subjects, at more or less the same level as in the seven-year general education schools.

By the end of the restoration period the number of those attending both the secondary and the vocational and technical schools had considerably increased, and the first school leavers with secondary specialised education received under the Soviet system were ready to begin work.

At the 15th Party Congress the problem of the cultural revolution was put forward as one of the most important issues facing socialist reconstruction.

The restoration of the national economy and first successes of industrialisation allowed the Soviet Government to increase cultural development subsidies. Under the first five-year plan an annual average of 2.5 billion roubles was allocated for social and cultural needs as against an average of less than one billion roubles allocated in the previous five years. The successes of socialist economy, which allowed such a considerable expansion in the material basis of the nation's culture, lay at the foundation of the achievements of Soviet culture during the years of the reconstruction period.

But at the same time the transition to the socialist reconstruction of the national economy and to laying the foundations of a socialist economy on an extensive scale made it essential to step up the rates of cultural development.

On August 14, 1930 the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars passed a law "On Universal Compulsory Primary Education" which envisaged the introduction in the school year 1930/1931 of universal free compulsory four-year education for all children from the age of eight to ten.

Universal compulsory education was also introduced for children from 11 to 15 years of age, who had not received primary education. Enormous work was required to ensure that all children attended school. The Government considerably increased the allocations for school building and for repairs and equipment. A

number of measures were passed to improve the living standards of teachers and to provide the children with free text-books, writing materials, clothing, footwear and meals.

By the end of the first five-year plan the introduction of universal compulsory primary education had largely been completed. By late 1932 some 98 per cent of all children from the ages of 8 to 11 were attending primary schools as against 52.4 per cent in 1928.

During the first five-year plan the number of those attending primary and secondary schools, worker and peasant youth schools and adult educational schools rose from 12.1 million to 21.4 million. An immense leap forward in this direction was made in the Soviet republics of Central Asia. In Turkmenia, for example, the number of pupils in the school year 1932-1933 was fifteen times higher than before the revolution, in Uzbekistan almost forty times higher, while in Tajikistan there were 339 times as many schoolchildren as there had been in the pre-revolutionary period.

Having achieved this enormous rise in the number of pupils the Party then set about campaigning for improved educational and teaching standards in the schools.

In the early thirties it became necessary to make radical alterations in the content of the school curriculum. The leading role of the teacher had to be strengthened, sound teaching programmes introduced, the process of instruction strictly regulated and the mass standardisation of school textbooks carried out. An important part in this restructuring was played by three Party Central Committee resolutions entitled "On Primary and Secondary School" (September 5,1931), "On Curricula and Practices in Primary and Secondary Schools" and "On the Work of the Pioneer Organisation" (1932). This whole complex of measures taken by the Party and the Government was designed to ensure that general education would provide a sound and systematic mastery of the fundamentals of science and train the younger generation to active participation in the building of socialism.

In relation to its guidance over higher school the Party set a twofold objective: to form a new Soviet intelligentsia from among the ranks of the working class and the working peasantry and to effect the socialist re-education of the old intelligentsia.

An important role in proletarianising the student body and renewing the professorial and academic staff of the higher educational establishments was played by the workers' preparatory courses *(rabfaks)*, the network of which was considerably expanded between 1921 and 1925, the institutes of Red professors, and the communist universities which were set up on Lenin's initiative in 1921.

During these years a campaign was conducted in higher education to improve the social composition of the student body and to train a new professorial and teaching staff.

The problem of having enough highly qualified personnel became particularly acute during the reconstruction of the national economy in the USSR. But at the same time, as socialist industrialisation showed increasing success, the opportunities for training specialists became correspondingly broader. Government subsidies for building higher educational establishments were considerably increased with the result that during the first five-year plan the number of higher educational establishments in the country as a whole grew more than fivefold.[1] In the academic year 1932/1933 there were some 1.5 million students attending higher educational institutes and technical colleges.

As a result of this rapid growth, some half a million new specialists with higher or specialised secondary education were trained during the first four years of the five-year plan. These new graduates comprised more than half of the total number of specialists working in the USSR, and in certain industries (machine-tools, the aircraft industry, etc.) this proportion was even higher.

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[1] In the Ukraine the number of higher educational institutes increased during this period from 39 to 203, in Byelorussia from 4 to 31, in Georgia from 6 to 20, in Uzbekistan from 3 to 31 and in Kazakhstan from 1 to 10.

To bring the training of the students nearer to the practical requirements of industry and to improve their practical knowledge of the production process many technical and agricultural higher educational establishments were put under the control of the appropriate people's commissariats. Many of the technical institutes trained specialists for the new industries, such as the production of artificial rubber, artificial fibres and special steels and railway electrification.

Evening classes and extramural studies at higher and specialised secondary institutions became more and more common. In the early 1930s the first factory-institutes appeared, where young men and women could receive higher education while still continuing to work.

This restructuring of industrial and technical training soon began to bear fruit. During the first five-year plan almost 70,000 engineers graduated, together with more than 30,000 specialists in agriculture.

At the same time the numbers of teachers, doctors and workers in the Party and Soviet apparatus also increased.

In creating a new, Soviet intelligentsia, the Party and the Government paid particular attention to its social composition. In the main it was the sons and daughters of peasant and worker families that were sent to the higher educational institutes and technical colleges. The proletarianisation of higher education was a most important task for the reconstruction period.

To improve the social composition of the higher educational institutes and increase communist influence among the student body from the autumn of 1929 Party activists began to be sent to study there. Tens of thousands came to the higher educational institutes and technical colleges through the Komsomol.

Another means to proletarianise higher education was found at many of the industrial enterprises, where preparatory courses were arranged for entry to the higher and specialised secondary institutes. In selection to attend these courses priority was given to workers.

By the end of the first five-year plan the social composition of the country's technical intelligentsia had radically altered. More than 30 per cent of the new generation of specialists with higher education and up to 50 per cent with specialised secondary edu-

cation came from working class. This was the ultimate result of the first five-year plan in the creation of a Soviet intelligentsia, the rapid growth of which was regarded as one of the most important achievements of the cultural revolution that took place in the country during those years.

But the first five-year plan not only provided a solution to the problem of training a managerial body for all sectors of the national economy, it also saw a considerable increase in the cultural and technical level of the working class. This came primarily as a result of the enormous scale of vocational and technical training. During the first five-year plan, 450,000 youths graduated from factory schools, while the overwhelming mass of workers in heavy industry were attending some form of sandwich courses.

Ideological Consolidation and Development of Science

The tasks of socialist construction required systematic strengthening of the Party's ideological work, calling for political education of the masses and promoting the Marxist-Leninist social sciences. In an article entitled "On the Significance of Militant Materialism" Lenin formulated a programme for the Marxist education of the people and showed the need for an unremitting struggle against bourgeois ideology. The implementation of this programme required tremendous efforts from the cultural and educational institutions of both town and country. These included clubs, libraries, museums, village reading-rooms and so on. To commemorate the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution the first Palaces of Culture were built in Moscow and Leningrad. Subsequently similar palaces of culture were opened at many of the other industrial and cultural centres of the country.

An exceptionally important role in the political education of the working people was played by the Soviet press. In 1921 and 1922 a new phenomenon in this field appeared in the form of wall and factory newspapers.[1] May 5, 1922 was officially proclaim-

[1] By the end of 1925 it was estimated that there were already more than 25,000 wall newspapers.

ed Press Day to mark the tenth anniversary of the first issue of *Pravda* and a number of new papers and social and political periodicals began to be published.[1] The circulation of these papers grew rapidly and by 1932 they were already being printed in 88 of the national languages of the USSR.

Radio broadcasting too began to be developed on an extensive scale. From the late 1920s it was extensively employed in promoting the education of workers and peasants and became a powerful means for providing daily contact between the Party and the Soviet Government and the masses, and for drawing the village closer to the town.

An important ideological event in the life of the country was the publication in 1921 and 1922 of the first edition of Lenin's *Collected Works* and the preparations for the publication by the Lenin Institute (set up in 1923) of the whole wealth of Lenin's literary heritage. At the same time the Marx-Engels Institute (set up in 1920) was preparing an edition of the complete works of Marx and Engels, of which publication began in 1928. Also the Communist Academy (renamed in 1924 from the former Socialist Academy) extended its work as the main centre for all research work in the sphere of the social and political sciences.

In 1932 the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute (formed in 1931 from a merger between the Marx-Engels Institute and the Lenin Institute) completed the publication of the second and third edition of Lenin's *Collected Works*. These editions were considerably expanded and supplemented in comparison with the first edition and they contained a great number of new documents.

The broad and vigorous propaganda campaign launched by the state to promote the ideas of Marxism-Leninism created favourable conditions for the development of the social sciences and the growing influence of scientific Marxist methodology in all spheres of the life of Soviet society.

The ideological activity of the Party was insolubly linked with the struggle for the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory against

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[1] These were *Rabochaya gazeta* (1922), *Krestyanskaya gazeta* (1923), *Krasnaya zvezda* (1924), *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (1925); *Proletarskaya revolutsiya* (1921), *Pod znamenem marksizma* (1922), *Bolshevik* (1924), *Krasnaya nov* (1921), *Novy mir* (1925).

various attempts to distort it. The Party Central Committee directives on ideological matters provided guidelines for scientific thought in the country and directed it to tackle the basic problems of socialist construction.

The five-year economic development plan faced Soviet scientists with the task of establishing close links with socialist construction in practice. Scientific development began to be planned and directed according to the practical tasks which confronted the country.

Soviet science at that time, of course, had many achievements to its credit. The works of such scientists as I. P. Pavlov, I. V. Michurin, A. N. Bakh, A. Ye. Fersman, N. D. Zelinsky, V. I. Vernadsky, S. A. Chaplygin, D. N. Pryanishnikov, A. P. Karpinsky, S. V. Lebedev, V. A. Obruchev, and A. I. Ioffe are famous throughout the world. Soviet scientists studied the USSR's natural resources, investigated problems related to the distribution of productive forces and took part in drawing up the first five-year plan. From 1926 on the greatest scientific developments were awarded the Lenin Prize. The first Soviet scientists to be so awarded were V. A. Obruchev (geography), N. I. Vavilov (botany), D. N. Pryanishnikov (agrochemistry), A. N. Bakh (the founder of Soviet biochemistry) and I. M. Gubkin (geology).

Fundamental changes took place in the work of the Academy of Sciences, which celebrated its bicentenary in 1925. To mark this occasion the Central Executive Committee adopted a resolution recognising the "Russian Academy of Sciences as the highest scientific institute in the USSR". According to the resolution the Academy of Sciences now became an all-Union centre and was accordingly renamed the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. In subsequent years such important scientists and active participants in the building of socialism as I. G. Alexandrov, G. O. Graftio, A. V. Vinter, B. Ye. Vedeneyev, I. P. Bardin and M. A. Pavlov were to be included among its illustrious ranks. A number of scientists who were also prominent members of the Communist Party including G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, M. N. Pokrovsky, V. P. Volgin, A. V. Lunacharsky and S. G. Strumilin were also elected members of the Academy. The Academy's post-graduate programme for young scientists was expanded and the beginnings of planned research work were made.

The Academy set up a number of branches throughout the Soviet Union in such places as the Urals, the Far East and Transcaucasia with a department in Azerbaijan. Bases were also formed in Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and the Kola Peninsula. The organisation of these branches and bases of the Academy of Sciences in the provinces made for the subsequent growth of scientific work in the national republics.

In 1929 the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences was formed from the Institute of Byelorussian Culture. In the early thirties the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences also began to make important scientific progress.

An important event in the scientific life of the country was the founding in 1929 of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences named after Lenin, the highest agricultural institute in the country. As a centre for the scientific methodology of agriculture, it directed the work of the agricultural institutes as well as selection and experimental stations in all the main sectors of agriculture. In 1929 also the all-Union institutes of horticulture and livestock rearing were set up.

The major achievements and discoveries of Soviet science were immediately introduced into industry. This was one of the most important results of scientific development during the period.

Soviet Literature and Art. The Restructuring of the Literary and Arts Organisations

The general cultural upsurge in the country found its reflection in the development of Soviet literature and art. Alongside the old generation of writers a number of young novelists like D. Furmanov, A. Fadeyev, L. Leonov, K. Fedin and B. Lavrenyov made their appearance on the literary scene. But the pride of Soviet literature at the time was its poets—V. Mayakovsky, S. Yesenin, D. Bedny, N. Tikhonov and M. Svetlov, each one outstanding in his own right.

The most prominent role in the struggle for the ideological uplifting of Soviet literature belonged to Maxim Gorky. In the

late twenties and early thirties he wrote a large number of articles exposing the preparations for a new imperialist war, conducting the struggle for peace and passionately defending the new, socialist society, the first socialist power in the world. These militant and cogent writings of Gorky, steeped as they were in Soviet patriotism, received considerable response abroad. It was also Gorky who initiated the periodical *Our Achievements,* the multi-volume *History of the Civil War in the USSR,* the history of plants and factories and other publications. Also during these years Gorky published the first volumes of his novel *The Life of Klim Samgin* and his play *Yegor Bulychov and Others.*

New outstanding works were also brought out by Alexei Tolstoy (the second part of trilogy *The Ordeal—1918*), Mikhail Sholokhov (*And Quiet Flows the Don* and the first volume of *Virgin Soil Upturned*), Fadeyev (*The Rout*) and other writers. The main theme of these works was the heroic struggle for Soviet power and the building of socialism.

Children's literature also had its fair share of success with such authors as Mayakovsky, Marshak, Chukovsky and Zhitkov producing works for children. It was also at this time that the famous children's writer Arkady Gaidar wrote his first books. In 1932 the famous novel by Nikolai Ostrovsky, *How the Steel Was Tempered,* was first published. This novel was to play an exceptional role in the upbringing of generations of Soviet youth.

Under the guidance of the Communist Party a literature was developed in the national republics that was national in form and socialist in content. Soon readers all over the country became acquainted with the works of P. Tychina, M. Bazhan, M. Rylsky and A. Korneichuk from the Ukraine, G. Tabidze from Georgia, Kh. Alimdzhan from Uzbekistan, Ya. Kupala from Byelorussia and writers from other Soviet republics.

As well as performances of the classics there began to be established in the Soviet theatres a whole new repertoire devoted to themes from Soviet life. Such were the plays, *Lyubov Yarovaya* by K. Trenyov and *Armoured Train 14-69* by V. Ivanov, written in 1926 and 1927. In subsequent years there were plays by N. Pogodin, A. Afinogenov, L. Leonov and A. Korneichuk. New theatres and theatrical studios sprung up as well as national

theatres in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia and Uzbekistan.[1] It was at this time also that the world's first children's theatres were opened.

In a conversation with A. V. Lunacharsky in February, 1922 Lenin said that cinema was the most important of all the arts, and these words determined the subsequent development of the cinema in the Soviet Union. Thanks to the enormous care and attention shown by the Soviet Government by 1925 some 150 Soviet films had been made including Eisenstein's *The Battleship Potemkin,* which was given a triumphant response by cinema goers all over the world. In 1931 the first Soviet sound films were made.

The composition of Soviet songs for the masses was particularly successful. An important role in popularising these songs belonged to the Red Army Song and Dance Ensemble, headed by A. V. Alexandrov, which was founded in 1928.

The first half of the twenties saw the creation of some remarkable works of sculpture including the famous "Worker" and "Peasant" by I. D. Shadr and the first works of the composition "Leniniana" by N. A. Andreyev. An indication of the successes of Soviet architecture and monumental art can be seen in the Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square (designed by A. V. Shchusev). It was during these years that architects began to work on a plan for the reconstruction of a number of cities beginning with the housing programmes in Moscow, Leningrad and Baku.

Soviet achievements in the pictorial arts were widely demonstrated at an exhibition held in 1932 entitled "Fifteen Years of Art in the RSFSR". As well as works by Russian artists the exhibition included paintings by many Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian, Armenian and Uzbek artists and artists of other nationalities.

All sectors of the cultural front without exception progressed according to Lenin's principles of Party guidance over cultural development. On Lenin's initiative a broad discussion was held in the autumn of 1922 with members of the "Proletcult". This resulted in a resounding criticism of the latter's sectarian and

[1] By 1933 there were 32 theatres in Uzbekistan, 9 in Tajikistan, 5 in Turkmenia, 6 in Kazakhstan and 4 in Kirghizia.

vulgaristic views on matters of cultural development in the Soviet state.

In June 1925 the Party Central Committee adopted a resolution on "Party Policy in the Sphere of Literature", which was to play a fundamental role in the history of Soviet culture. The Party Central Committee noted the importance of developing free creative competition between the various organisations and groups of writers and called for the "exercise of the greatest tact in the treatment of all literary strata, that are ready and willing to go along with the proletariat". In respect of writers of the older generation and the so-called "fellow-travellers" the resolution stated that "tactfulness and consideration should characterise the attitude adopted towards them for only such an approach could provide the right conditions for their rapid adoption of the communist ideology."[1]

This resolution of the Central Committee mobilised all workers in the field of culture to struggle against manifestations of bourgeois ideology. It set out the principles of Party guidance not only in the sphere of literature, but also in the theatre, the cinema and on all the other sectors of the cultural front.

The subsequent growth of Soviet literature and art, which was achieved on the basis of the successes of socialist construction, once more brought up the question of how to exercise guidance over the literary and art organisations. These questions were defined in a Central Committee resolution of April 23, 1932 entitled "On the Restructuring of the Literary and Art Organisations" which played an important role in uplifting Soviet literature and all the other arts.

In the early twenties the Party had helped with the formation and strengthening of the proletarian literary and art organisations. The biggest of these was the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers (RAPP), which was part of the All-Union Association of Proletarian Writers (VAPP).

But in a situation of nationwide socialist construction, when the old intelligentsia and particularly their writers had swung completely over to the side of Soviet power and were united

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[1] *On the Party and Soviet Press.* A Collection of Documents, Moscow, 1954, pp. 345, 346 (in Russian).

behind the single struggle for socialist literature and art, it was essential to effect a decisive restructuring of the literary and arts organisations.

According to the Central Committee resolution of April 23, 1932 a new generation of proletarian writers and artists from the plants, factories and collective farms had reached maturity. Consequently the frameworks of the currently existing literary and art organisations were becoming too narrow and serving to put a break on the serious development of artistic creativity. In these circumstances there was a danger that from being the means for the greatest mobilisation of Soviet writers and artists for the tasks of socialist construction they could easily develop into narrow literary cults, that were cut off from the political tasks of the present day and from the significant group of writers and artists who sympathised with the building of socialism.

Thus in place of the individual proletarian literary and arts organisations there was formed a single Union of Soviet Writers, which brought together all writers that stood for Soviet power and wanted to participate in socialist construction. At the same time the All-Union Association of Proletarian Musicians and the Russian Association of Proletarian Artists were similarly disbanded.

The Central Committee resolution on the restructuring of the literary and art organisations and the formation of the Union of Soviet Writers united the writers, stimulated the growth of young talents and ensured a new upsurge in Soviet literature and art during the following years when the cultural revolution in the USSR proved decisively victorious.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

1. THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE USSR IN 1933-1937

Europe—a Hotbed of War. The Soviet Union's Struggle for Peace and Collective Security

The years 1933-1937 saw mounting tension in the international situation. Europe and the East became hotbeds of war and the danger of war increased throughout the world.

This tension in the international situation and the aggravation of contradictions between the capitalist countries had deep-going economic and political roots.

In mid-1932 the world economic crisis reached its height. Towards the end of that year industry and trade once more began to pick up. But unemployment was still rife with the annual average unemployment figures in the capitalist countries not falling below 14 million between 1932 and 1937. As a result, in the latter part of 1937 a new economic crisis began, striking the United States first and then Britain, France and a number of other countries.

This new economic crisis intensified the struggle among the imperialist countries and served as an impetus to strengthen their offensive against the working class and unleash another war. The capitalists were showing increasing desires for a redivision of the world to be effected through military action.

Germany, Japan and Italy strove for a new world war. They began to implement their aggressive plans with the connivance

of ruling circles in the United States, Britain and France, who hoped to push the aggressors against the USSR.

The two basic hotbeds of war were the Far East, where Japanese imperialism was launching its aggression, and Central Europe, or to be more precise, Germany, where Hitler's Nazi party had come to power in 1933. This party, which was the most reactionary and hostile (towards the working class) of all the imperialist bourgeois parties, was openly militarist and out to achieve world domination for German imperialism.

The formation of these two hotbeds of war in the East and the West made the danger of military attack on the Soviet Union extremely acute.

The Soviet Union did all it could to prevent a war and promote the policy of collective security. It was the firm belief of the Soviet Government that all the states interested in maintaining peace should act in common to hold the potential aggressors in check. But Britain, France and the United States were not interested in such a display of unity. They preferred, in effect, to connive at the rearming of Germany, while conducting secret anti-Soviet negotiations with Hitler and his clique aimed at turning the latter's aggressive ambitions against the Soviet Union. In 1933 Britain, Germany, France and Italy signed a pact in Rome, which essentially amounted to a conspiracy between Britain and France on the one hand and Hitler's Germany and fascist Italy on the other aimed at the Soviet Union.

But despite the hostility of the imperialist states towards the Soviet Union, they still had to reckon with the growth of its international prestige and with the popularity of Soviet peace policy among the masses in all the capitalist countries. This is borne out particularly by the fact that in late 1933 the United States announced its readiness to enter into diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

Having received a note from President Roosevelt proposing the establishment of diplomatic relations, the Soviet Government gave its consent and on November 16, 1933 diplomatic relations between the two countries were finally established. In the same year diplomatic relations were also established with Spain and in the following year with Czechoslovakia and Romania.

As proof of the growing international role of the USSR and

the prestige of the Soviet Government's peace policy there came in 1934 an invitation to the Soviet Union from 30 states to join the League of Nations. In September of that year the Soviet Government accepted the invitation, with a reservation that it could not take any responsibility for certain articles in the League's Charter and for some decisions adopted before the Soviet Union became a member. Of course, the Soviet Government put no great hopes on the League of Nations. During the 14 years of its existence it had frequently taken a hostile position towards the Soviet Union and frequently demonstrated its helplessness in the struggle against the warmongers. Nevertheless, it was with the intention of preventing a war and maintaining peace that the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations in the hope that it might stimulate that organisation to struggle against fascist aggression.

In 1935 the German and Italian fascists committed a number of aggressive acts. In March of that year Germany introduced universal military service thereby violating the Treaty of Versailles by this unilateral act. But this met with no opposition from England and France. What is more, soon afterwards an Anglo-German naval treaty was signed in London, according to which fascist Germany was given the right to build a Navy that was almost equal in size to the French Navy. This time, of course, the Versailles Treaty was being violated by Britain as well as Germany. On March 7, 1936 Germany destroyed the last military limitations of the Versailles Treaty and marched into the demilitarised zone of the Rhineland.

The Soviet Government declared that to revise the treaties in the face of continued acts of aggression would do nothing to further the cause of peace, but on the contrary would be tantamount to making a concession to the aggressors. It expressed its readiness to take part in all measures designed to check the aggressors. But the League of Nations took no heed of these warnings and nothing was done against fascist Germany.

The result was the collapse of the peace-treaties signed after the First World War and the inexorable movement of the capitalist countries towards a new war.

In October 1935 without any declaration of war Italian forces invaded Abyssinia (Ethiopia). This aggression was a severe blow

to the interests of Britain and France, for it threatened their shipping lines from Europe to Asia. Even so Britain and France still stayed their hand, preferring to reach agreement with fascist Italy at the expense of the Ethiopian people. Only the USSR resolutely condemned this aggression. The Soviet proposals made at the League of Nations and aimed at stopping the war and checking the aggressor, did not receive the support of Britain, France and the other capitalist countries. The Italian fascists continued with impunity and by the summer of 1936 almost the whole of Abyssinia had been occupied.

In this alarming situation that had resulted from the fascist invasion of Abyssinia, the Soviet Union continued its policy of collective security and promoted unity among the peace-loving states.

On May 2, 1935 a treaty was signed between France and the USSR providing for mutual assistance in the event of an attack of either country by aggressors. It was a treaty that served the interests of both countries and of peace and international cooperation. But the French imperialists had no intention of fulfilling the obligations that arose from this treaty. They wanted, in the words of French diplomats at the time, "*faire un tour de waltz avec L'URSS*" so as to be in a more advantageous position when making a deal with Hitler.

On May 16, 1935 a mutual aid treaty was signed between the USSR and Czechoslovakia.

With the world gradually sliding into the abyss of a new war the working people of all countries stepped up their struggle against fascist aggression. At the head of this struggle stood the Communist Parties. In the face of stiff resistance from the right-wing socialist leaders the Communists in the capitalist countries tried to create a united anti-fascist front.

The tasks of the Communist Parties in the struggle against fascism were set out in the resolutions of the Seventh Comintern Congress, which was held in July and August, 1935. The Congress heard a report entitled "The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Fight for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism" delivered by the General Secretary of the Comintern Executive Committee, G. Dimitrov, a prominent Bulgarian revolutionary. The Congress adopted the reso-

lutions which outlined a programme of action for all forces of democracy and socialism throughout the world in the struggle against fascism and war. These resolutions stressed that the unity of the working class and of all anti-fascist forces was essential for a successful struggle for peace, against fascism. In implementing these decisions the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries put enormous effort into uniting the masses against the fascist aggressors and their henchmen.

The USSR Works to Halt the Aggression

In 1936 and 1937 Germany, Japan and Italy stepped up their aggression. With the financial backing of the Western monopolies, German imperialism was able in a very short time to build up a war industry that was capable of producing enormous quantities of tanks, planes, artillery and warships. At the same time Japan and Italy continued to increase their armaments production.

In July 1936 fascist forces in Spain under the leadership of General Franko and with the backing of Germany and Italy rose in rebellion against the Republican Government. Soon after the outbreak of the rebellion Italy sent military units to Spain, while Germany provided the rebels with military specialists, technology and aviation.

In these difficult conditions the Spanish people under the leadership of their Communist Party fought a heroic struggle. The Soviet Union consistently supported this liberation struggle, demanding that Italian and German intervention should cease. The working people of the Soviet Union sent food, clothing and medicine to Spain and the Soviet Government provided planes and tanks for the Republican army. Soviet volunteers—pilots, tank crews and other military specialists—fought on Spanish soil in the international brigades. Thousands of Spanish children orphaned by the war, were given shelter and protection in the Soviet Union.

The sympathy of progressive forces throughout the war was unanimously on the side of Republican Spain. From France, Poland, Britain, the United States, Germany, Czechoslovakia and

other countries anti-fascist volunteers made their way to Spain in the face of enormous difficulties to fight in the international brigades. The movement of solidarity with the working people of Republican Spain spread throughout the whole world.

In order to further promote their military ambitions the fascist states united into a military and political bloc. In November 1936 a treaty was signed between Germany and Japan, known as the anti-Comintern pact. A year later the pact was joined by Italy. Thus was formed the triple alliance of the Axis powers, Germany, Japan and Italy.

In July 1937 the Japanese militarists launched open war against the Chinese people, who offered stubborn resistance to the invaders. An important role in the organisation of the anti-Japanese struggle was played by the Chinese Communists with the result that Japanese imperialist plans for a rapid occupation of China collapsed, and the war dragged on with no end to it in sight.

The policies of war and aggression pursued by the Axis powers were countered by the struggle for peace, for collective security and for halting aggression fought by the Soviet Union, which sought to rally all democratic forces. This struggle for peace merged with the movement of all the working people against fascism and war.

The USSR used its position in the League of Nations to step up the struggle for peace. M. M. Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and other Soviet delegates spoke out in favour of the principle of collective security at almost every session of the League and in almost all its commissions. But all the Soviet proposals were met with the stubborn resistance of Britain and France. In August 1936 the Soviet delegation proposed a number of measures for strengthening collective security such as the conclusion of mutual aid pacts between states in given geographical areas. But these proposals too remained buried in the archives of the League.

But still the Soviet Union never wavered from its struggle to unite the forces opposed to aggression. In March 1936 it concluded a mutual aid pact with the Mongolian People's Republic. This treaty played an important part in frustrating the aggres-

sive plans of Japanese imperialism directed against both Mongolia and the USSR.

Soon after the Japanese invasion of China on August 21, 1937 a non-aggression treaty was signed between the latter country and the Soviet Union. The USSR gave important material aid to the Chinese people in its just war of liberation. This aid involved the provision of credits and deliveries of armaments, vehicles, fuel and planes.

The Soviet credits to China were at the very least 3-4 times greater than the joint Anglo-American credits. Furthermore the Soviet loans were on incomparably more favourable terms than those offered by Britain and the United States. Soviet military specialists worked in China as advisers and Soviet volunteer pilots fought in China against the Japanese invaders. More than one hundred of these were killed defending Chinese towns and villages against Japanese air attacks.

The mutual aid treaties that the USSR concluded with France, Czechoslovakia and Mongolia in the years 1935-1936 and the non-aggression treaty with China reaffirmed the peace policy of the Soviet Union. They served to strengthen the international position of the Soviet Union.

2. THE STRUGGLE OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE TO FULFILL THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Policy of Increasing the Role of Economic Stimuli

The successful completion of the first five-year plan made it possible to progress to a new stage of socialist construction—the technological reconstruction of the national economy.

By making socialist ownership the dominant form of ownership it became possible to create fundamentally new sources of capital accumulation and plan their use on a much wider scale. Whereas previously planning had to be applied to a multi-structured economy, the victory of the socialist system in industry, commerce and agriculture under the first five-year plan meant that all sectors of the economy could be subjected to planning,

and therefore more precise and more specific targets could be fixed.

In February 1932 the 17th Party Conference adopted the "Directives for Drawing Up a Second Five-Year Economic Development Plan for the Years 1933-1937", which set out the plan's main guidelines and objectives. On the basis of these directives from the Party a detailed five-year plan was drawn up and approved at the 17th Party Congress. In November 1934 the final version of the plan was reviewed and approved at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars.

The main political objective outlined in the plan was the final liquidation of the remaining capitalist elements in town and countryside and the final elimination of all causes engendering the exploitation of man by man.

The main economic objective of the plan was the completion of the technological reconstruction of the national economy. Industrial production was to double in relation to its state in 1932.

In agriculture the main objective consisted in completing collectivisation and continuing the technological reconstruction of agricultural production.

The complexity of the new technology and the fact that its mastery was the focal point of economic policy made it essential to improve the whole system of economic management and conditioned the gradual specialisation of the economic commissariats. Thus, in 1936 enterprises working for the defence industry were taken out of the control of the People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry and given over to the newly formed People's Commissariat for Defence, while in the following year two new commissariats—the People's Commissariat for Machine-Building and the People's Commissariat for the Food Industry—were formed.

Experience of socialist economic development showed that management of socialist industry implied unity between its two forms—the sectoral and the territorial. The policy for strengthening the sectoral centralisation of management was accompanied by the increased role of the local organisations in industrial development. In 1934 People's Commissariats for local industry were formed in the Union and Autonomous republics and depart-

ments of local industry in the territorial and regional executive committees.

During the second five-year plan the objective conditions were created for the more consistent use of price levers in the development of the socialist economy, for planned financial discipline and for the further strengthening of the Soviet rouble, which was a most important measure for strengthening the economic ties between town and country.

Steps were also taken to improve economic stimuli at the plants and factories. In 1936 the enterprise director's fund was instituted, which was formed largely from above the plan profits. This fund was used for housing construction, for improving amenities and services and for bonuses to individuals.

At the same time a movement spread among the plants and factories to refuse state subsidies and be instead profitable themselves. Thus, in 1936 state subsidies were stopped in the mining, quarrying and timber industries, in the iron and steel industry, in certain sectors of the chemical industry and to a certain extent in the non-ferrous metallurgical industry.

This emphasis on self-reliance brought about a considerable improvement in the quality of industrial output. Whereas during the period of the first five-year plan industrial costs tended to increase, they began to decline consistently in the following five years. Improving methods of economic management and increasing economic efficiency played an important role in the successful fulfillment of the second five-year plan.

The Working Class in the Vanguard of Socialist Emulation

The years of the second five-year plan saw a numerical increase in the Soviet working class. The most intensive increases occurred in such industries as machine-building, metal-working, coal mining and iron and steel. This led to changes in the professional structure of the working class with workers in the heavy industries being predominant. As a result of mechanisation many occupations became no longer necessary, particularly those involving heavy manual labour. In the coal industry, for example,

there was no longer any need for hewers, rakers, and horse-drivers and in the machine-building industry for riverters.

The growth of the working class in the national areas was particularly rapid. In 1934 the native working class in Byelorussia accounted for 66 per cent, in Georgia for 50.8 per cent, in Armenia for 88.9 per cent and in Kazakhstan for almost 40 per cent. This put an end to the factual inequality of the formerly backward nations and strengthened the friendship between them.

The work and the political activity of the working class was to a considerable extent determined by the level of their general and technological education. During the second five-year plan an immense amount of work was done to stamp out illiteracy among industrial workers. And in this a very important part was played by factory schools, whose enrollment rose from 450,000 trainees in the first five-year plan period to 1.4 million in the second five-year plan period. Their graduates received sound theoretical and practical training. The enterprises now ran a wide range of sandwich courses as well as technical circles and vocational schools. Socialist emulation, of course, made an enormous contribution to encouraging the workers to better their education and expand cultural horison. The more advanced workers tried to get a deeper understanding of technology so as to raise their productivity of labour.

By the middle of the second five-year plan the overwhelming mass of the workers were involved in socialist emulation. It was at this time that the Stakhanovite movement began. On August 31, 1935 Alexei Stakhanov, a miner at the Irmino-Tsentralnaya Mine in the Donbas mined 102 tonnes of coal in the shift, which was 14 times more than the fixed norm. Soon after this the whole country heard about the feats of such men as A. Busygin, a press operator at the Gorky Automobile Plant, P. Krivonos, an engine-driver from Donetsk, N. Smetanin, a worker in the footwear industry from Leningrad and the two women weavers Yevdokia and Maria Vinogradovas. But this movement among the advanced workers to raise their productivity of labour would have been unthinkable without new technology, without the people who could expertly operate this technology and without the ability to organise the emulation drive.

There was no industry in the country and no section of the

working class which remained aside from the Stakhanovite movement.

This movement was, of course, given the full support of the Communist Party. In November 1935 more than 3,000 followers of Stakhanov were invited to an All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites in Moscow, at which speeches were delivered by emulation winners, factory managers and Party and Government officials. In December 1935 a Plenary Session of the Central Committee met to discuss the first results of the Stakhanovite movement and to set out a programme for its further development.

The Stakhanovite movement was a powerful means for increasing the productivity of labour and the social activity of the working class.[1]

Under the second five-year plan 4,500 new factories, plants, mines and power stations were built. The fixed production assets of the USSR in 1937 were 2.2 times greater than in 1932.

From the mass of new building projects a group of the most important were singled out for the largest capital investment. At the same time the whole character of construction work changed. Experience in building was acquired, skilled workers were trained and a broad network of design organisations set up, all of which allowed building work to be carried out in a more planned and orderly fashion without panic or rush.

The main emphasis was placed on the machine-building industry. Two large-scale plants were built in the Urals and Novokramatorsk, the Gorky and Moscow automobile plants were significantly enlarged and building was finished on a number of machine-tool plants at Kharkov, Moscow, Gorky, Sverdlovsk and Kiev.

In the iron and steel industry a number of factories were completed, which had been begun under the first five-year plan. Many new blast furnaces, open hearths and rolling-mill shops were commissioned. Thus, the acute shortage of ferrous metals experienced during the first five-year plan was overcome.

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[1] In December 1938 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR instituted the title Hero of Socialist Labour, as the highest order of merit for economic or cultural achievements, and the two medals "For Labour Prowess" and "For Distinction in Labour".

Of tremendous importance for the whole economy were the large-scale non-ferrous metallurgical enterprises built under the plan. At Sredneuralsk and Balkhash copper-smelting works were built, while the lead, zinc and aluminium industry was practically built from scratch.

The country's fuel and energy sources were considerably increased with new units being brought into operation at many of the power stations. During the second five-year plan the capacity of the nation's power stations was almost doubled, which brought about considerable increases in the electrical power available per industrial worker.

Under the plan mining was intensively developed with 145 new mines being opened. At the same time the Volga area and the Urals began their own oil industry.

By the end of the second five-year plan important changes had taken place in the distribution of productive forces. The Uralo-Kuznetsk combine was now producing almost one-third of the country's pig iron, one-quarter of its coal and almost three-quarters of its copper.

It was at this time also that the White Sea-Baltic Canal and the Moskva-Volga Canal were built, both of these waterways being of great importance to the country's economy.

The overall growth of the socialist economy allowed great improvements to be made in the life of the working people living in the country's industrial centres. The widespread housing programme meant a radical restructuring of many of the old towns. In 1935 a resolution was adopted by the Council of People's Commissars and the Party Central Committee approving a master plan for the reconstruction of Moscow.

In the suburbs of such major industrial centres as Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Kharkov, Gorky and Novosibirsk workers' housing estates were built with all the amenities. Considerable reconstruction was carried out in the capitals of the Soviet republics, Baku, Tashkent, Dushanbe, Alma-Ata and Frunze. At the same time new towns like Magnitogorsk, Prokopyevsk, Kirovsk and Komsomolsk-on-Amur sprung up all over the country.

But alongside successes, industry also had faults. Neither the iron and steel industry nor the coal industry fulfilled their plans and there was a certain lag in commissioning new capacities

of power stations. Most of the shortcomings could be put down to mistakes in planning and oversights in economic management organisation.

The Communist Party took a number of steps to rectify the faults. In some cases these only began to produce results in later years, but already by 1937, for all the difficulties, the most important result had been achieved: the second five-year plan in industry had to all intents and purposes been completed ahead of time in four years and three months.

Development of Agriculture

During the second five-year plan the collective-farm system proved itself completely victorious. But the collective farms still had many shortcomings (bad organisation of labour, poor planning and accounting, and lax discipline). The majority of the collective farms were still small and economically weak. The level of mechanisation remained low. These difficulties were made even worse by the lack of experience in the running of large-scale collective agriculture, the shortage of qualified workers, and the disruptive activity of the kulak elements that had managed to get into the collective farms.

Therefore the main task consisted in the organisational, economic and political strengthening of the collective farms, particularly the new ones. Great importance was accordingly attached to the first All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock-Workers, which was held in Moscow in February 1933. The Congress listened to and discussed the reports on this subject of Ya. A. Yakovlev, People's Commissar for Agriculture and A. V. Kosarev, Secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee. Speeches were also delivered by more than 40 workers from collective farms all over the country, who shared their experience in the organisational, economic and political strengthening of the collective farms and posed questions of great relevance to the collective farm development. Party and Government leaders also participated in the work of the congress with speeches being made by M. I. Kalinin, J. V. Stalin and K. Ye. Voroshilov.

The First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock-Work-

ers played an important role in increasing the activity of the peasant masses in the further strengthening of the collective-farm system.

In order to do away with shortcomings in collective farm management, strengthen them with experienced personnel, increase the political role and influence of the machine and tractor stations and the state farms in the villages, effect the organisational, economic and political consolidation of the collective farms and raise their productivity, the joint January 1933 Plenum of the CPSU(B) Central Committee and the Central Control Commission adopted a resolution to form political departments in the machine and tractor stations and the state farms. The political departments were special, extraordinary Party and state bodies designed to strengthen the collective farm system, and 25,000 experienced Party workers were sent to work in them. It was their responsible task to carry out mass political work in the countryside so as to ensure the organisational, economic and political strengthening of the collective farms.

The political departments exercised political supervision over the use of manpower on collective and state farms, and ensured that the farms fulfilled commitments to the state on time. An essential part of the work of the political departments was the organisation of socialist emulation on the collective farms.

The victor in this competition was the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which then went on to organise an all-Union competition. In the summer of 1933 the majority of regions and territories in the Soviet Union took part in this all-Union socialist emulation drive.

The various steps taken by the Party helped to strengthen the collective farms organisationally and economically. In 1933 and 1934 there was a definite improvement in the organisation of labour on both collective and state farms and a general strengthening of labour discipline. At the same time correct norm setting was introduced and planning improved.

The productive and technological base of agriculture was also strengthened. By the end of 1934 there were 281,000 tractors, 33,000 combine harvesters, 34,000 lorries and many other pieces of complex agricultural machinery.

Harvest yields were up as were the gross yields of industrial crops, particularly sugar beet.

The growth of agricultural production facilitated the successful fulfillment of the state's procurement plans. This in turn produced favourable conditions (in 1935), for ending bread and certain other food rationing, which during the course of the year was gradually abolished for all foodstuffs and industrial goods. Fixed retail prices were established and all-round improvements made in the distribution of goods and services for the working people.

Summing up the results of the work of the political departments at the machine and tractor stations and noting the successes achieved in collectivisation the 1934 November Plenum of the Central Committee decided transforming these political departments into ordinary Party organs, since they had to all intents and purposes fulfilled their tasks regarding the organisational, economic and political strengthening of the collective farms.

These successes were endorsed in the new Collective Farm Rules which were discussed and adopted in February 1935 by the Second All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock-Workers, a congress attended by 1,433 delegates. The main aim of this congress was to make generally available the whole wealth of experience that had been so far accumulated in the organisation and management of socialist agricultural production.

The first Rules for an Agricultural Artel had been drawn up in 1930, while there was as yet almost no experience accumulated in the running of collective agriculture. Now with considerable experience behind it the congress unanimously approved the new Model Rules. On the same day the Rules were also approved by the Council of People's Commissars and the Party Central Committee. The Rules were divided into sections, the main ones being: the aims and objectives of the agricultural artel, the land and other means of production, the work of the artel and its board of managers, its membership, wages, labour discipline and the general management of its affairs.

The new Rules contained an important article stating that collective-farm land was given over to the possession of the collective farms in perpetuity. The land, which was state property belonging to the whole nation, was given over to the permanent

and free use of the collective farms, but it could neither be bought, sold, nor rented.

To protect the social interests of the collective farms from any violation and to ensure the correct combination of the social and personal interests of the collective farmers, the new Rules established, with due consideration for the variety of conditions obtaining in the different regions, the size of individual plots of land depending on the region. The number of livestock to be owned by each collective-farm family was similarly established on a differentiated basis. The need to secure a correct combination of the social interests of the collective farm and the personal interests of the collective farm workers underlay the new Rules. The new Rules also endorsed the basic principles governing the broad inner-collective farm democracy. They also established the electivity of all the bodies of a given farm and their accountability to the general meeting of the collective farmers.

The new Rules which summed up the latest knowledge on the organisation of socialist agriculture clearly defined the basic principles of collective-farm life. These were the dominant position of socialist ownership, the planned character of collective farming, the priority given to the fulfillment of state obligations, the principle of collective labour and the distribution of income according to labour, the scientific management of large-scale socialist farming and the democratic principles of managing collective-farm production.

Following the establishment of the new Model Rules and in view of the forthcoming development and adoption of Rules for each individual collective farm, a vast amount of explanatory work was done on collective farms throughout the whole country. Everywhere general meetings were held to discuss the new Rules, which resulted in the collective farm workers making their own additions and amendments. Thus, on the basis of the principles contained in the Model Rules each collective farm drew up its own Rules which were then approved at general meetings of the collective farm workers and registered in the regional executive committee of the Soviet.

In 1935 the Council of People's Commissars adopted a resolution entitled "On Granting the Collective Farms State Deeds for the Permanent Use of Their Land". The state deeds were

then handed to the individual collective farms at general meetings of their workers, a process which was only completed in 1937. As a result the collective farms had for their permanent and free use some 370 million hectares of agricultural land.

The adoption and implementation of the new Collective Farm Rules led to a steep rise in the political and production activity of the peasantry, which in turn brought about a further increase in collective farm production.

3. THE CONSTITUTION OF VICTORIOUS SOCIALISM

The Building of Socialism in the USSR

The fulfillment of the second five-year plan, the growth of industry, the completion of the socialist reconstruction of industry and the collectivisation of agriculture brought about new important changes in all spheres of Soviet life and particularly its economy and class structure. The second five-year plan saw the completion of the socialist transformations, that had taken place over the last two decades. Socialism was now victorious in town and village and became the one comprehensive form of the national economy.

By the end of the second five-year plan there were 2.5 times as many industrial and office workers as there had been in 1928, while together with their families they now represented 36.2 per cent of the entire population of the country.

The working class had increased quantitatively and qualitatively.

Instead of the individual peasant households, which in 1928 formed three-quarters of the population and were divided into various class groups, there was now a collectivised peasantry forming 57.9 per cent of the population. Non-collectivised peasants only accounted for 5.9 per cent of the population. The exploiter class—the bourgeoisie, the landowners and the kulaks—had been completely liquidated.

The peasantry became a new, socialist class and their former economic, cultural, social and political backwardness in comparison with the urban population was being overcome. New jobs were now available for the peasants such as tractor and

combine harvester drivers, automobile and lorry drivers and mechanics.

The Soviet socialist intelligentsia, which came from and remained closely tied to the people, also participated actively in economic and cultural development.

The changes in the social structure of Soviet society led to the gradual erosion of class differences between the workers and peasants and between these two classes and the intelligentsia. There were no longer any hostile or antagonistic classes left, no longer any irreconcilable class contradictions existed. Soviet society now comprised two friendly classes—the workers and the peasants—and the intelligentsia.

With the victory of socialism the socialist nations in the USSR were formed. In their character, culture and political aspirations the socialist nations were a new type of nations. The community of basic economic and political interests between the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia made these nations even more united internally. Their distinctive characteristic is their adherence to the ideology of proletarian internationalism. The economic and social development of these nations promoted their friendship and cooperation.

In the course of the building of socialism an historically new community of people was gradually forming—the Soviet people.

The victory of socialism and the radical changes which subsequently took place in the life of Soviet society led to important improvements in the living standards of the working people.

Thus the fulfillment of the second five-year plan summed up, as it were, the results of twenty years of Soviet power and marked the achievement of the main objectives that faced the country during the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

The end of the transition period meant that the purpose of the new economic policy, which was intended to ensure the victory of socialist elements over capitalist and tip the balance of forces in favour of socialism, had been achieved. To all intents and purposes a socialist society had been built in the USSR.

The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union was achieved in conditions of capitalist encirclement and the constant threat of

foreign invasion. It was a feat of world-historical importance, which the Soviet people had achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The working class and the popular masses all over the world looked upon the land of victorious socialism with feelings of deep love and trust and were full of admiration for the successes of the Soviet Union. These feelings were expressed particularly in the addresses of welcome that were sent to the Soviet People on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the October Revolution. Through these millions of people abroad stated that they regarded the achievements of the Soviet Union as their own and that these achievements gave the working people of the world confidence in the universal victory of the forces of socialism.

Deep sympathy for the Soviet Union was felt not only by the workers, the working peasantry and the oppressed masses in the colonies, but also by the intelligentsia and all progressive circles among bourgeois society.

The Soviet Union became a genuine outpost of socialism and the bulwark of all progressive mankind. The victory of socialism promoted the prestige of the USSR as the centre of gravity for the working people of all countries and as the main support for the proletariat in its struggle against capitalist enslavement.

All these developments meant there was a need for a new Constitution of the USSR which would reflect all the radical changes that had taken place in the country.

Preparation and Discussion of the Draft of the New Constitution

By the mid-thirties the first Constitution of the USSR adopted in 1924 during the development of the Soviet multinational state no longer corresponded to the new conditions, which obtained in the country. It now became necessary to draw up a new Constitution, which would give full endorsement to the victory of socialism. On February 1, 1935 the Plenum of the CPSU(B) Central Committee made a special proposal to the Council of People's Commissars that it set before the Seventh All-Union

Congress of Soviets the question of revising the Constitution in order to:

"a. *further democratise the electoral system by replacing not fully equal, indirect and open elections by completely equal, direct elections, by secret ballot;*

"b. *clarify the socio-economic basis of the Constitution by bringing it into conformity with the current correlation of class forces in the USSR that had resulted from the creation of a new socialist industry, the defeat of the kulaks, the victory of the collective-farm system and the establishment of socialist ownership as the basis of Soviet society.*"[1]

On February 6, 1935 the Seventh Congress of Soviets of the USSR approved the initiative of the Plenum and authorised the Central Executive Committee to form a commission that would draft a new Constitution. The commission was to consist of leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government and leading figures from all the Union republics.

For almost a year the commission continued its difficult and painstaking work, but by the end of May 1936 it had drawn up a draft Constitution. This draft was discussed in detail at a Plenum of the Central Committee which approved it and suggested that it should be used as the basis for corresponding draft Constitutions in all the Union and Autonomous republics. The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee also approved the Constitutional Commission's draft and decreed that it be published for nationwide discussion. This was accordingly done on June 12, 1936 and the discussion that followed lasted five and a half months.

The discussion was a clear demonstration of Soviet democracy. Throughout the country the local Soviets and their deputies reported to their constituents, while extraordinary district, regional, territorial and republican congresses of Soviets were held. The draft Constitution was subjected to all-round discussion at meetings of the working people and the course of this discussion was widely covered in the press which systematically published reports on the meetings and the letters from the working people.

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[1] *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 5, p. 205.

Fifty-five per cent of the adult population of the country took part in the discussion on the draft Constitution, and many proposals, additions and amendments were introduced. All this further stimulated the political and production activity of the working people.

The Adoption of the 1936 Constitution

The results of the nationwide discussion were summed up at the Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets, which opened on November 25, 1936. The Congress was attended by 2,016 delegates representing the working people of all the nationalities of the USSR. Of these 42 per cent were workers, 40 per cent peasants and 18 per cent members of the intelligentsia. Seventy-two per cent of the delegates present at the Congress were members of the Communist Party.

The main report of the Constitutional Commission was delivered by its chairman J. V. Stalin. The result of the discussion in which more than 50 delegates took part was unanimous approval for the draft Constitution. Thus on December 5, 1936 the Congress unanimously adopted the new Constitution of the USSR and from that moment it came into force.

The 1936 Constitution reflected the radical changes that had taken place in the socio-economic and socio-political life of the country. Its first article contained Lenin's thesis that the Soviet Union was a socialist state of workers and peasants. It then went on to establish that in the USSR all power belongs to the working people of town and country in the form of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. The Constitution gave the force of law to the supreme sovereignty of the Soviet multinational people led by the working class and to the principle of genuine popular power. It stated the leading role of the Communist Party in the Soviet state and established that the economic base of the USSR was socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production and the socialist economic system. Socialist property was further clarified as being either state property, that is property of the whole people, or collective-farm and cooperative property. It stated also that in the USSR all the conditions existed for the radical improvement of the living standards of the work-

ing people. It endorsed the most important socialist principle of distribution, that is "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work". Labour was declared not only a duty but a matter of honour for each able-bodied citizen of the USSR.

The Constitution reflected the flowering of the socialist nations and the growth of the socialist multinational state. Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia were now part of the USSR as independent Union republics, and the autonomous republics of Kazakhstan and Kirghizia were made Union republics.[1] Thus the number of Union republics in the USSR was increased to eleven. At the same time a number of autonomous regions were made autonomous republics.

Important changes were also made in the structure of the organs of state power and government. The system was established by which legislative power was exercised exclusively by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which consisted of two equal chambers—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. The highest organ of state power in the USSR in the period between the sessions of the Supreme Soviet was the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The highest executive and administrative organ of power was the Council of People's Commissars. The Government was accountable to the Supreme Soviet and in the period between its sessions to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. It published resolutions and directives, and coordinated and directed the work of Union and Union-Republican people's commissariats and other departmental institutions subordinate to it.

In view of the fact that the moral and political unity of society had been achieved, the Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies were changed under the Constitution into the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. The Constitution enhanced the role of the Soviets in the life of the country. Radical changes were also introduced into the system of forming the Soviets. The Constitution introduced universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot to the Soviets at all levels.

The Constitution established equal rights for men and women, the equality of all races and nationalities, the inviolability of

[1] Uzbekistan and Turkmenia were made Union republics at an earlier date in 1924 and Tajikistan in 1929.

the person, freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly, freedom of conscience, freedom to unite in various public organisations and privacy of correspondence. The Constitution not only proclaimed but guaranteed all these freedoms. The working people were guaranteed the right to work, to leisure, to maintenance in old age or in the event of disability and the right to receive education. The Constitution consistently maintained the principle of the unity of the rights and duties of citizens of the USSR. All citizens were obliged to observe the Constitution, abide by Soviet laws, honourably fulfill their social duty, preserve and protect socialist property and defend their homeland.

With the fundamental provisions of the Constitution of the USSR as their guidelines, the Union republics adopted their own Constitutions in 1937.

The historical importance of the 1936 Constitution consists in that it gave legislative force to the fact that in the main socialist society was built in the USSR. The adoption of the new Constitution was of enormous international importance, for it mobilised the working people of all countries for the struggle for genuine democracy.

One of the most important tasks following the adoption of the new USSR Constitution was the restructuring on its basis of the whole system of state power and government. This task was largely accomplished as a result of three mass electoral campaigns. These elections were preceded by an enormous amount of organisational and propaganda work, in which millions participated. The Communist candidates at the elections formed a single block with the non-Party candidates. The first nationwide elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the highest organ of state power in the country, which were held on December 12, 1937 on the basis of the new Constitution, saw a resounding victory for the bloc of Communists and non-Party people. The total turnout to the elections was 96.8 per cent of the electorate. The bloc of Communists and non-Party candidates received 98.6 per cent of the votes in the elections to the Soviet of the Union and 97.8 per cent of the votes in the elections to the Soviet of Nationalities. The deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet included representatives of all sections of Soviet society and all peoples of the USSR. Of the 1,143 deputies to both chambers

of the Supreme Soviet 870 were members or candidate members of the Communist Party.

On January 12, 1938, the first session of the Supreme Soviet was held. The first sitting of the Soviet of the Union was opened by its oldest deputy, Academician A. N. Bakh, while the first sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities was opened by its oldest deputy, the prominent Bolshevik Mikha Tskhakaya. A joint session of both chambers elected the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet consisting of 24 members with M. I. Kalinin as Chairman and eleven deputy chairmen, one from each of the Union Republics. Each chamber elected a number of standing commissions (the legislative proposals commission, the budgetary commission and the foreign affairs commission). At its last sitting the session approved the composition of the Soviet Government, known as the Council of People's Commissars. The elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous republics were just as successful. Some 99.4 per cent of the electorate voted for the bloc of Communists and non-Party candidates, a clear demonstration of the triumph of Lenin's nationalities policy. In the elections to the local Soviets in December 1939, 98.9 per cent of the votes went to the bloc of Communists and non-Party candidates. Thus by the early 1940 the whole system of the organs of state power had been restructured in accordance with the new Constitution from top to bottom. This was a fine achievement, putting into effect Lenin's ideas on the development of the state.

Thus the working class and the peasantry, guided by the Communist Party, built to all intents and purposes a socialist society in the USSR by carrying out transformations on a gigantic scale. This was the first stage in the history of Soviet society—the transition from capitalism to socialism—which had been to all intents and purposes effected in two decades.

CHAPTER SIX

THE USSR ON THE EVE OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

1. THE INCREASING DANGER OF WAR AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The USSR's Struggle for Peace and Collective Security under the Increasing Threat of a New World War

The years 1933 to 1939 were characterised by an aggravation of international tension caused by the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the increasingly aggressive policies of the imperialist powers, particularly Germany, and the growing struggle within the imperialist camp for markets, for raw materials and for the redivision of the world.

The new economic crisis which began in late 1937 in the United States had by the following year hit the economies of Britain, France and a number of other capitalist countries with the result that industrial production in these countries fell and the working people suffered a sharp drop in their living standards.

Germany, Japan and Italy, where extremely reactionary forces had come to power, had put their economies on a military footing and given priority development to the war industry in an attempt to avert the slump. The fascist governments of Germany and Italy as well as the Government of militarist Japan believed that the best way to protect themselves from economic crisis and to get out of the internal difficulties they faced through the aggravation of class contradictions was to unleash a new world war.

In 1938 the industrial output of Germany was second only to that of the United States among the capitalist countries, and

German imperialism was gradually ousting its imperialist competitors from the world markets and demanding a redivision of the colonies and the spheres of influence. The same demands with German support were also made by fascist Italy. Meanwhile in the Far East the Japanese imperialists were continuing their war of aggression against China. The ambitions of the fascist aggressors were a serious threat to the peoples of Europe and Asia. At the same time, the United States, Britain and France did all they could to strengthen and where possible expand their positions.

Torn by internal contradictions the imperialist camp sought their solution and a way out of the crisis in a war against the USSR.

Germany, Italy and Japan formed an aggressive anti-Soviet alliance, known as the "anti-Comintern pact". At the same time the British, French and American imperialists, in effect, gave their tacit support to the fascist aggression, hoping to direct it against the USSR. They sought to strike a blow against the first socialist state without themselves becoming involved in any military conflict and at the same time to weaken their main competitors, Germany and Japan, by bleeding them white in a war against the Soviet Union.

With the connivance of the Western powers the fascist aggressors gradually escalated the imperialist war. By early 1938 vast areas of Europe and Asia were already in flames and the fire showed no signs of abating.

Italian and German intervention continued in Spain. In March 1938 despite a pledge by the rulers of Britain and France to defend her independence, the Germans marched into Austria and *Anschluss,* or the seizure of Austria by the Nazis, became a *fait accompli* with nothing done to prevent it.

Meanwhile the USSR consistently pursued its peace policy and worked to organise a collective rebuff to the fascist aggressors and prevent world war. After the seizure of Austria the Soviet Government declared its readiness to enter into immediate discussions with other states with a view to taking practical steps to halt the further spread of fascist aggression. "Tomorrow may be too late," stated the Declaration of the Soviet Government, "but today there is still time if all states, particularly the great

powers, adopt a firm and unambiguous position with respect to the collective salvation of peace." But ruling circles in Britain and the United States made no response to this proposal.

After the seizure of Austria the Nazi aggressors made preparations for the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

On September 29 and 30, 1938 a meeting between Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier took place in Munich, which resulted once more in the satisfaction of Germany's aggressive territorial demands. Czechoslovakia was delivered an ultimatum to surrender the Sudetenland, a move which rendered the country almost helpless against fascist Germany. After the Munich Conference the whole policy of appeasing fascist aggression began to be called Munich politics. The Munich agreement brought the world to the very threshold of the Second World War.

Throughout the whole Czechoslovak tragedy the Soviet Union was the only state which consistently advocated the interests of Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Government publicly declared its readiness to defend Czechoslovakia in accordance with the terms of the mutual aid treaty which required similar action from France. But since France refused to abide by these terms, the USSR went further than the treaty with Czechoslovakia obliged it to do. President Beneš of Czechoslovakia was informed that the Soviet Union was ready to come to Czechoslovakia's aid even without France, provided that Czechoslovakia herself resisted the aggressor and made an official appeal to the USSR for help. At that time the Soviet Union moved huge forces of infantry, tanks and aviation to its western borders. But the bourgeois Government of Beneš did not accept the Soviet proposal and the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, fearing the revolutionary mood of the masses, chose to betray national interests. The result was complete capitulation to the fascist aggressors.

The policy of appeasement pursued by the capitalist powers was based on the hope that their internal and external contradictions could be solved by a redivision of the world at the expense primarily of the USSR. Nazi Germany, fascist Italy and militarist Japan were the strike force of world imperialism in its struggle against democracy and socialism.

After the Western powers had betrayed Austria and Czechoslovakia, the political and strategic situation in Europe changed

sharly in favour of Hitler. One of the results of this change came in spring 1939 when the Spanish mutineers, with the help of German and Italian interventionist forces and the connivance of international reaction, succeeded in breaking down the heroic resistance of the people and setting up a fascist regime in Spain.

Meanwhile Hitler's audacity knew no limits. The Munich agreement between Germany, Britain, Italy and France had provided joint guarantees for the new (reduced) borders of Gzechoslovakia. However, on March 15, 1939 Germany completely disregarded the terms of the agreement and seized the remainder of Czechoslovakia without even bothering to inform Britain or France. A week later on March 22 the pro-fascist Government in Lithuania yielded to Hitler's demand and signed an agreement transferring the Klaipeda (Memel) province to Germany.

With Hitler having dispensed with Gzechoslovakia and now setting his sights on Poland through a number of territorial demands and other concessions, the governments of Britain and France declared that they would give military aid to Poland to ensure her independence. The aim of this offer was twofold. In the first place it was a sop to British and French public, now outraged at the open appeasement to the Hitlerite aggression, secondly, it was an attempt to pressurise Hitler into becoming more amenable to the interests of Britain and France when making a deal with them. It was with this aim again that from March until August 1939 they held negotiations with the Soviet Union. The proposals made by France and particularly Britain were contrived to make the USSR take on a number of unilateral obligations which might lead it into a war with Germany, while Britain and France remained aloof from any conflict and free from any reciprocal obligations to the Soviet Union.

But the Soviet Government detected these manoeuvres and declined the proposals, which were not formed in accordance with the principle of reciprocity and equality of obligation. But not wishing to lose any opportunity to preserve peace and organise a collective rebuff to the aggressors, the Soviet Government made a number of counterproposals to this end. Had Britain and France accepted them it might have been possible to avert the threat of war that now hung over Europe. But they did not.

The same fate awaited the talks held between the military missions of Britain, France and the USSR which began in Moscow on August 12, 1939 at the initiative of the Soviet Government.

The Soviet Government believed that these talks ought to establish concrete forms of cooperation for the armed forces of the USSR, Britain and France in the event of the outbreak of a war in Europe. A draft proposed on this had been formulated by the Soviet delegation but it was rejected by the British and French governments.

While everything was being done to delay the talks with the USSR and while Hitler with one act of provocation after another was moving towards a war between Poland and Germany, the British Government entered into secret negotiations with fascist Germany. They proposed not only the conclusion of a non-aggression pact, but also an agreement on the division of spheres of influence throughout the world including China and the Soviet Union. In the event of Germany agreeing to the British proposals the British were ready to break off their negotiations with the USSR and annul the guarantees of Polish independence which they had just given. In other words they were ready to betray Poland in just the same way as they had betrayed Czechoslovakia. But the secret talks, however, ended in a deadlock, for Hitler did not need to make any deals with Britain which, he thought, would only serve to limit his field of action.

But it was not only in the west that the USSR was threatened with imperialist war. It had already been raging near the country's borders in the Far East.

Japan had not given up its aggressive designs against the USSR. A vast army had been amassed along the Soviet border which only served to increase the tension in that area. In the summer of 1938 the Japanese militarists launched a major offensive in the region of Lake Khasan near Vladivostok, but after heavy fighting they were driven back by Soviet forces. Despite this setback Japanese forces invaded the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic in May 1939 in the region of the Khalkin-Gol river. True to the mutual aid treaty which it had signed with Mongolia in 1936, the USSR came to the aid of the Mongolian people. Alongside units of the Mongolian army the Red Army

undertook major operations against the Japanese invaders, which resulted in the latter being completely routed.

In summer 1939 the Soviet Union was faced with the grim prospect of waging war single-handed by simultaneously on two fronts, the West and Far East.

Meanwhile in the capitalist world outside war was gaining momentum. But still the major capitalist powers refused to co-operate with the Soviet Union and take collective action against the aggressor. Thus Britain and France made a point of showing Hitler that the USSR was isolated, that it had no allies and that an invasion of the Soviet Union would meet with no opposition from either country.

Having exhausted all the ways of preventing aggression against the USSR, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government decided upon the only correct course of action in these circumstances—the conclusion (in August 1939) of a non-aggression treaty with Germany for a period of ten years. This upset the machinations of Britain and France, prevented the formation of an anti-Soviet front of the imperialist powers and gave the Soviet people a temporary respite from war.

The Beginning of the War in Europe. The USSR Strengthens Its Borders

By the late summer of 1939 the political atmosphere in Europe was at boiling point. On the morning of September 1, 1939 German infantry and tank divisions supported by warplanes invaded Poland. The anti-popular, bourgeois-landowning Government of Poland, which had refused for class reasons to accept help from the Soviet Union, proved powerless to resist German aggression.

The seizure of Poland strengthened considerably the position of Hitlerite Germany in Europe. But this ran directly counter to the imperialist interests of Britain and France. The governments of these two countries demanded the immediate withdrawal of German troops from Poland, a demand which was immediately turned down.

On September 3, 1939 Britain and France declared war on Germany. The Second World War had begun.

Thus the policy of appeasement symbolised by the Munich Conference and characterised by a desire to involve the USSR in a war with Germany and Japan had collapsed. For all the efforts of the Munich plotters the war in Europe had begun not as a war of the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union, but as a war of one group of imperialist states against another, as a war within the imperialist system.

As the war spread in Europe the Soviet Union took steps to strengthen its western borders. The ruling bourgeoisie and landowners in Poland had been powerless to resist the German invasion and by mid-September their state had virtually ceased to exist, leaving the way to the Soviet border wide-open to the oncoming German troops.

The flight of the Polish Government presented the peoples of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, that had been under its domination, with the opportunity for national liberation. But the rapid eastern advance of the Germans threatened to replace the rule of the Polish gentry not with national freedom but with fascist occupation. And this would also have meant that the German armies would be on the borders of the USSR and within easy reach of its nerve centres. For this reason on September 17, 1939 the Red Army entered the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia to protect their population. The liberation of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia restored historical justice since it brought together once more the people of Byelorussia into a single Soviet Byelorussian state and the people of the Ukraine into a single Soviet Ukrainian state.

At the same time the advance of the Red Army prevented the Hitlerite forces from getting too near to the major centres of the USSR.

In late September and early October, 1939 the Soviet Government concluded mutual aid treaties with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania as a move against possible German aggression on the Baltic states. According to the treaties the USSR pledged to provide effective support in the event of these countries becoming the subject of aggression. Also Vilnius and the Vilnius region, which had previously been unlawfully seized by Poland, were returned to Lithuania.

In strengthening its western borders the Soviet Union worked

on the assumption that the threat of anti-Soviet intervention had increased despite the outbreak of war between the imperialist countries. That this assumption was well founded can be seen from the events relating to the Soviet-Finnish conflict in the winter of 1939-1940.

Reactionary circles in Finland had turned that country into international imperialism's bridgehead against the Soviet Union thus threatening the security of the USSR from the north-west. They not only declined the Soviet proposal for a mutual aid pact, but in the late winter of 1939 unleashed armed conflict with the Soviet Union.

The beginning of hostilities between the USSR and Finland was a source of great exultation to those who favoured aggression against the USSR. A wave of unbridled anti-Soviet agitation swept through the imperialist camp. Ruling circles in Britain and France urged on the Finnish military with promises of weapons and prepared an expeditionary force for the Soviet-Finnish front.

Though Britain and France were technically at war with Germany there were practically no hostilities during this period. The British and French GHQs were still discussing plans for military operations against the USSR in 1940. It was proposed to strike a blow against the country not only from Finland but also from the south.

But all these plans were frustrated by the Red Army. On February 11, 1940 Soviet forces stormed the Mannerheim Line, a long strip of defence works which had been built up over a number of years. After 17 days of heavy fighting the Mannerheim Line was finally broken on March 1 and Finland sued for peace. The terms of the subsequent peace treaty resulted in a strengthening of the security of Leningrad, which was only 32 kilometres away from the frontier, and also of the security of the Murmansk railway.

During 1940 and the first half of 1941 the Wehrmacht occupied France, Yugoslavia, Greece, Holland, Belgium, Norway and Denmark and had entered "on the basis of treaties" Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria.

The war had now come to the very borders of the Soviet Union.

2. THE FORMATION OF THE NEW UNION REPUBLICS

The Reunification of the Western Ukraine with the Ukrainian SSR and of the Western Byelorussia with the Byelorussian SSR

The life of the working people in the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, cut off as they were in 1919-1920 from the Soviet Union by the bourgeois landowner Poland, was hard. Under the yoke of the Polish capitalists and landowners the workers and peasants of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia had for two decades cherished the hope of reunification with their Soviet kinsmen. Thus when the Red Army entered the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia in the autumn of 1939 they were given an exultant welcome by the working people who looked upon them as liberators.

The liberated peoples of these provinces were now able to determine for themselves the type of state power they wanted and the subsequent fate of their countries. During the first days of the liberation provisional bodies of power were formed from representatives from the local population, to take charge of the political, economic and cultural life of the countries. In accordance with the will of the working people these bodies of power initiated the calling of people's assemblies in both the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia.

In October 1939 political campaigns were launched for elections to the new People's assemblies. In putting forward their candidates the workers, peasants and working intelligentsia instructed them to fight for the establishment of Soviet power in the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia and to have these provinces included in the USSR. The candidates, who had been nomineed by workers' meetings, peasants' committees, provisional bodies of power and gatherings of the workers' guard and the intelligentsia, were elected to serve on the People's assemblies of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia. At the elections 90 per cent of the electorate voted in their favour.

The People's assemblies proclaimed the establishment of Soviet power in the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia and

adopted declarations on the entry of these two provinces into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and on their respective reunification with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. The People's assemblies of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia also passed a resolution on the confiscation of the landowners' estates and the nationalisation of the banks and large-scale industry.

On October 31, 1939 the Extraordinary Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was opened. It was attended by delegations from the People's assemblies of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia. Having examined the declarations of the People's assemblies of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a law making the latter full-fledged members of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and reunifying them with the Ukrainian and Byelorussian SSRs.

The Victory of the Socialist Revolution in the Baltic States. Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia Enter the USSR

In 1919 Soviet power had been overthrown in the Baltic states and bourgeois-nationalist governments set up. As a result of coups organised by reactionary elements fascist regimes were established there. The overthrow of Soviet power in the Baltic states, their separation from Soviet Russia and the establishment there of bourgeois-nationalist dictatorships brought considerable suffering and hardship to the working people of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

But even the fascist terror could not break the will of the working people or crush their struggle for social liberation. The struggle of the workers and peasants, led by the Communist Parties of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, grew. In 1939 there were 316 strikes in Latvia, while the strike movement grew apace in Lithuania and Estonia. At the same time the discontent of the working peasantry also began to increase. The working people

took up active struggle against the fascist regimes and against the exploitation and poverty they brought.

The foreign policy of the ruling fascist cliques in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia resulted in their complete loss of national independence and their becoming colonies of the Western imperialist states. The imperialists had long been interested in the Baltic states, planning to occupy them and use them as a bridgehead against the Soviet Union.

The working people of these countries fought actively against the anti-national policies of "their own" governments. Thus under pressure from the working people the governments of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia were forced in the autumn of 1939 to conclude mutual aid pacts with the Soviet Union.

But though they had concluded these pacts with the USSR the governments of the Baltic states did not wish to fulfill the obligations arising from them. In complete disregard for the national interests of the Baltic peoples they continued to pursue policies which would have the effect of turning their countries into bridgeheads for an invasion of the USSR, thereby crudely violating the mutual aid pacts they had signed with the USSR. At the same time the fascist cliques in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia launched a number of provocative attacks on Soviet military personnel who were serving in the Baltic states in accordance with the terms of the mutual aid pacts. Hundreds of patriots who had welcomed a pact with the USSR were arrested and thrown into prison.

In the spring and summer of 1940 the governments of the Baltic countries held negotiations with Hitler on the direct intervention of German troops into Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The discontent of the working people of these countries at the anti-Soviet policies of their treacherous politicians resulted in the overthrow of the bourgeois regimes.

The revolutionary actions of the working people in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia were crowned with victory in June 1940. As a result the fascist governments were overthrown and the working class and the working peasantry led by the Communists took power into their own hands. People's governments were set up in Lithuania (June 17) under Justas Paleckis, in Latvia (June 20) under August Kirhenšteins and in Estonia (June 21) under

Johannes Vares. The Communist Parties of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia came out from underground to lead the people's democratic governments and guide them along the path of revolutionary transformation.

On July 14 and 15, 1940 elections were held to the People's Sejms of Lithuania and Latvia and to the Estonian Duma.

On July 21, 1940 sessions of the supreme parliamentary organs were opened simultaneously in the three Baltic capitals, Riga, Tallinn and Vilnius. The day marked a turning point in the history of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian peoples, for it was the day on which the restoration of Soviet power was proclaimed in the parliaments of all three countries. Furthermore, in accordance with the will of the working people the people's governments of the three countries adopted decisions on the entry of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Thus ended the long and selfless struggle of the working people of the Baltic states for their liberation. After long years of struggle it was now possible to begin national revival and socialist construction. The revolutionary actions of the working people of the Baltic states had been given the selfless support of the fraternal peoples of the USSR, which had saved them from imperialist intervention and protected them from fascist enslavement.

The distinctive characteristic of the socialist revolution in the Baltic states was the fact that it was accomplished peacefully. This was made possible by the aid provided by the Soviet people to the working class and working peasantry of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, which paralysed all the forces of reaction and made it impossible to launch an armed struggle against the forces of progress and socialism.

In early August, 1940 the Seventh Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR heard the statements of the plenipotentiary commissions from the three Baltic parliaments and passed the historical laws which made Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia part of the USSR.

The Peoples of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina Enter the USSR. The Formation of the Moldavian SSR

Almost simultaneously with the revolutionary events in the Baltic states important changes were taking place on the south-western borders of the USSR. Here lay the region of Bessarabia, which after the Great October Socialist Revolution had been cut off from a weakened Soviet Russia by royal Romania.

The Soviet Union had never accepted the forced annexation of Bessarabia and the Soviet Government had frequently declared before the whole world that it considered the annexation of Bessarabia an illegal act in direct contradiction to the vital interests of the Bessarabian working people.

In summer 1940 the Soviet Government made a proposal to the Romanian Government for a peaceful solution to the Bessarabian question. At the same time the USSR also declared that the return of Bessarabia was part and parcel of another issue—the return of that part of Bukovina, the vast majority of whose population was linked to the Soviet Ukraine through community of language, nationality and historical destiny.

The Romanian Government was forced to concede on both issues. By the end of July 1940 Chernovtsy, Kishinev, Akkerman and other towns and villages had been returned to the USSR and in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina Soviet power was established.

The Bessarabian population, who were largely Moldavians by nationality, strove to reunite with the people of the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which was then part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Thus, in accordance with the will of the whole Moldavian people, Soviet and Party organisations in the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic raised before the Government of the USSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party the question of the reunification of Moldavian population of Bessarabia with the Moldavian ASSR and the formation of a Moldavian Union Republic within the USSR. To meet these wishes of the working people of both Bessarabia and the Moldavian ASSR the Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted in August 1940

a law on the formation of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Northern Bukovina, inhabited by Ukrainians, entered the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, an event which marked an important stage in the process of reuniting the whole of the Ukrainian people.

In addition to the Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian and Moldavian Union republics the Karelo-Finnish SSR was also formed in 1940. A peace treaty between the USSR and Finland concluded in March 1940 provided for the territories adjacent to the Karelian ASSR to become part of the USSR, and the working people of the Karelian ASSR expressed the desire that these territories should become part of the Karelian Republic. This request was acceded to by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and a law was passed on the formation of the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic.[1]

The New Republics in the Family of Fraternal Peoples

The entry of the peoples of the Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia, the Baltic states, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina into the USSR meant a radical change in their historical destinies.

As members of the fraternal family of Soviet peoples they entered the road of socialist development. The proclamation of Soviet power and membership of the USSR were inseparably connected with deep revolutionary and economic transformations that were designed to do away with exploitation and radically improve the life of the people. Industry, the banks, commerce, and the transport were all nationalised and private ownership of the land was abolished so that it became the property of the whole people. The exploiter classes of capitalists and landowners were dealt a crushing blow.

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[1] In July 1956 the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a law transforming the Karelo-Finnish SSR into the Karelian ASSR as part of the RSFSR.

Together with the removal of the bourgeois-landowning system and the development of a socialist economy considerable energy was devoted to strengthening Soviet power and building a Soviet state apparatus. In the newly formed Union republics Soviet Constitutions were drawn up and adopted to give the force of law to the revolutionary gains of the working people. The elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Karelo-Finnish and Moldavian SSRs took place amid great political enthusiasm. The People's diets of Latvia and Lithuania and the State Duma of Estonia were renamed Supreme Soviets. The working people of the Western Ukraine and Northern Bukovina elected deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR and the working people of Western Byelorussia sent their representatives to the Supreme Soviet of Byelorussia. Elections to the local Soviets were characterised by their great political activity. The elections at both local and republican level and the election of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR showed that the workers and working peasantry of the new territories that had just joined the USSR were full of confidence in and supported the Communist Party and were ready to fight for the victory of socialism.

The establishment of the dictatorship of the working class and the carrying out of revolutionary transformations in the field of economics laid firm foundations for socialism in the national economies of the new Soviet republics. The result was an immediate rise in output. In the last quarter of 1940 industry in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Moldavia was being run according to a state national economic plan, while the measures taken by the Soviet authorities brought about a radical improvement in the position of the working class and the end of unemployment.

Enormous changes took place in the countryside. As a result of the nationalisation of the land the landowners' estates were abolished. To put a check on the kulaks and to ensure that the land was evenly divided among the peasants who had little or no land at all a complete redivision of the land was carried out. In the Baltic states, the Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia and Bessarabia hundreds of machine and tractor stations and state farms were organised. The socialist state provided great help to agriculture in the new regions, allotting thousands of

tractors, combine harvesters and other agricultural machinery. In 1940 and 1941 the first collective farms were organised out of thousands of peasant holdings. Education also began to develop as schools, technical colleges and higher educational institutes were opened.

3. THE NATIONAL ECONOMY IN THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Main targets of the Third Five-Year Plan. Strengthening the USSR's Defences

The end of the transition period and the victory of socialism marked the entry of the USSR into a new stage in its history, the stage of socialism, the first phase of communist society. The tasks facing the country at this stage were completing the building of socialism and strengthening it in all respects. By the beginning of this new stage the technological reconstruction of the national economy had been largely completed and in terms of gross industrial output the USSR now held first place in Europe. However, in terms of per capita production the USSR still lagged considerably behind the United States, Britain, France and Germany.

The 18th CPSU(B) Congress which took place in March 1939 formulated the main economic objective: to catch up and overtake the most advanced capitalist countries in per capita production.

The third five-year national economic plan should have been an important step in the country's development. But in drawing up a plan for the country's economic development over years 1938 to 1942 the Soviet people had to give consideration to the complex international situation. At a time when the Second World War was raging just beyond its borders it was essential to combine the plans for the country's economic development with plans to strengthen its defences. Therefore, special attention had to be paid to the rational distribution of productive forces and the further development of industry in the eastern regions.

To ensure that the targets of the third five-year plan were reached it was necessary to make considerable increases in the productivity of labour and reductions in the cost of output. At the same time continued improvements were necessary in the managerial apparatus.

At the beginning of 1939 there were six people's commissariats for industry. These covered machine-building, heavy industry, defence, timber, food and light industry. But with the rapid expansion of production and building these commissariats became too cumbersome and could not cope with the amount of work they had to do. In 1939, therefore, they began to be split into smaller units. In 1940 the original six commissariats had been replaced by 21 smaller commissariats, each of which was responsible for one technologically homogeneous branch of production.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state mobilised the working people of the country to fulfill the targets of the third five-year plan.

The USSR's Working Class in 1938-41

Under the third five-year plan the numerical growth rate of the working class was considerably lower than it had been under the first two five-year plans. The annual increase from 1928 to 1932 had averaged more than one million per year and from 1933 to 1937 it had been upwards of 400,000. Under the third five-year plan, however, the annual average number of new workers coming into industry was down to 285,000.

The growth in output to a greater degree than before was due to improvements in organisation and a rise in the productivity of labour.

Changes were made in the ways in which the working class received its new intake. Recruitment of peasants from the collective farms could not meet the needs of industry for a qualified work force. Most of the workers who had come to industry through such recruitment had no industrial skills. There were also serious shortcomings in the plant and factory apprenticeship schemes. Teaching here was carried out in the most primitive

fashion without fixed syllabuses or even textbooks. Furthermore, these schools had no production base for training workers in the leading professions.

In July 1940 it was decided to set up state labour reserves for industry and transport. By the end of the year more than 1,500 training centres for such reserves had been established with a total student body of 602,000.

The growth of the educational and technological level of the working class and its political consciousness and creative activity were made manifest in the subsequent development of socialist emulation. Collective forms of innovatory work began to make their appearance, as did in 1938 the first completely Stakhanovite shop floors. The Red Triangle plant in Leningrad became one of the first all-Stakhanovite enterprises with 85 per cent of the workers regularly overfulfilling their norms.

Another expression of the creative labour of the working class was to be seen in the formation of the composite brigades, which were run on Stakhanovite lines and consisted of a group of highly-skilled workers, engineers and technicians. These brigades improved the technology of complex, labour-intensive processes and thus achieved high output.

The development of the mass invention and rationalisation movement made it possible for more and more workers to operate more than one machine simultaneously and master adjacent trades. The scale on which this new system was introduced attests to the fact that in the USSR there was a whole new force of workers possessing numerous production skills and a high level of political consciousness. The men who operated several machines and those who combined several trades strove actively to increase the mechanisation and automation of production processes. At the same time the tense international situation required the maximum strengthening of discipline at work and an end to fluctuation in the work force.

In December 1938 the Council of People's Commissars, the Party Central Committee and the All-Union Central Trade Union Council passed a resolution whereby industrial and office workers found systematically violating the standards of labour discipline would face dismissal for absenteeism and for violation of the labour laws and labour discipline.

These measures taken by the Soviet state to combat labour fluctuation and strengthen labour discipline proved adequate to deal with the problem.

During the first three years of the third five-year plan three thousand industrial enterprises were built, equipped and put into operation.

Major industrial enterprises were built in Georgia, Azerbaijan and the republics of Central Asia. The role of the eastern regions of the country in the production of metal, oil and coal rose considerably so that by 1940 they were producing 29 per cent of the country's pig iron, 34 per cent of its steel, 33 per cent of its rolled steel and 12 per cent of its oil.

The building of a large number of large-scale, fully modernised enterprises in direct proximity to the sources of fuel and raw materials did much to increase the country's economic might and its defence capabilities.

In February 1941 the 18th All-Union Party Conference considered the question of strengthening Party control over industry and transport. The post of secretary responsible for the leading sectors of industry and transport was established in all the city and regional Party committees and in higher Party bodies. In examining the economic plan for 1941 it was decided to increase state expenditure on defence. (In 1940 this totalled just over twice as much as in 1938 and accounted for almost one-third of the country's budget.)

On the eve of the Great Patriotic War the Soviet Union possessed a modern industry, created almost from scratch during the years of socialist industrialisation. In comparison with the 1913 level gross industrial output had increased 8.5 times in 1940 and production of the means of production by 15.5 times. The national economy now had an advanced metallurgical industry equipped with all the latest technological developments, a highly developed machine-building industry and powerful sources of energy. Heavy industry had moved far into the east. The formation of the industrial complex of mutually related enterprises known as the Uralo-Kuznetsk Combine ushered in a new stage in the industrial development of the region.

The threat of military intervention against the Soviet Union compelled the Party and the Government to give priority to the

defence industry. Thus, the average annual growth of industrial output during the third five-year plan was 13 per cent, while that of the defence industry was 39 per cent. There was a sharp increase in the production of planes, aircraft engines and warships.

On June 26, 1940 when the threat of war was growing rapidly the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet passed a law entitled "On the Transition to the Eight-Hour Working Day and the Seven-Day Working Week and on Prohibiting the Unauthorised Absence of Workers from Their Place of Work".

The Soviet Armed Forces were also considerably increased both quantitatively and qualitatively. Particular attention in this was given to equipping the Red Army.

An important part in increasing the preparedness of the Soviet people for war was played by the law that was adopted on September 1, 1939 entitled "On Universal Military Service". According to the new law the age limit for certain categories of draftees was reduced from 21 to 19 years and for those with secondary school education to 18 years. Elementary military training was also introduced for those below the call-up age.

Great attention was paid to bettering the training of officers and political workers. In 1940 the ranks of general and admiral were introduced to raise the prestige of the higher military personnel.

Socialist industry possessed all the resources and manpower necessary to provide the Red Army with everything it needed to fight the enemy.

Socialist Agriculture in the Pre-War Years

The collective-farm system which had been formed and strengthened under the first and second five-year plans was the main prerequisite for the rapid growth of agricultural production and for raising the living standards and cultural level of the peasantry.

The main means of production on the collective farms was the land, and the state showed continued concern that the collective farmers made proper use of it. A check on this in early

1939 revealed, however, that public land owned by the collective farms was not always put to proper use.

Measurement was made of all the private allotments belonging to the collective farmers and the individual farmers. This showed that more than 2.5 million hectares of land were being used above the established norm. This extra land was returned to the collective-farm land fund or given to the newly-admitted members of the collective farm.

At that time the majority of collective farmers earned from 200 to 600 work-days per year. These were the conscientious workers who gave all they had to the collective farm. But at the same time there were others who enjoyed all the rights of collective-farm members but did their best to avoid working for the collective. The collective farms were now given the right to expel such idlers whose labour input was less than a minimum of 60 to 100 work-days per year.

These measures helped to strengthen labour discipline on the collective farms with the result that in 1940 almost all collective farmers exceeded this basic minimum.

During the third five-year plan the Soviet Union was forced to transfer a significant part of its industry to armaments production. Thus, the deliveries of tractors, combine harvesters and tractor-drawn implements to the collective farms were sharply reduced. But the technological base of the collective-farm system still continued to grow. The share of collective farms served by the machine and tractor stations went up from 78 to 85 per cent and the degree of mechanisation in the collective and state farms also rose.

At this time the innovation movement on the collective farms developed extensively. Among its front ranks were mechanics, tractor drivers, combine-harvester operators, drivers and repair workers. The competition among combine-harvester operators was conducted on a wide scale.

The number and skill of tractor drivers and combine-harvester operators also grew considerably. The peasant woman became an active builder of socialist society. That many women learned to operate agricultural machinery acquired great importance in view of the tense international situation.

A labour feat of outstanding merit was performed by the col-

lective farmers of Central Asia, who dug the Great Ferghana Canal. The canal was designed to improve the irrigation of 500,000 hectares of land. The old methods for building such a canal would have required several years. The Uzbek collective farmers who initiated the project declared it a national enterprise and with help from collective-farm workers from Tajikistan and Kirghizia completed the project in one and a half months. Of the 160,000 workers taking part more than one thousand were awarded national decorations. In 1940 similar methods of construction were used to build a number of irrigation systems in Turkmenia, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan.

In the late 1930s collective farmers took part in a socialist competition for the right to participate in the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition, which was opened on August 1, 1939 in Moscow. It soon developed into a centre for advanced experience and was visited by thousands of delegations.

Under the third five-year plan the indicators of agricultural production surpassed those of the first and second five-year plans. Thus whereas from 1933 to 1937 the average annual grain harvest was 70.4 million tonnes, from 1938 to 1940 it had risen to 75.2 million tonnes. The corresponding figures for state grain procurement were 27.2 million tonnes and 32 million tonnes respectively.

In 1940 the gross harvest of grain was 96 million tonnes with an average yield of 8.6 centners per hectare. The Soviet Union was thus fully able to provide for its own demands in grain.

Livestock rearing developed at a much slower rate. The total number of livestock in the country in 1940 was still less than it had been in 1928. There were more livestock products than in 1913, but less than in 1928.

The coming war held back the growth of agricultural production. The tremendous opportunities offered by the socialist system of agriculture and its advantages over other systems could not be fully developed. Nevertheless, they did bear fruit: the broad masses of the peasantry were now living better than ever.

The collective farm system made it possible for the Soviet state not only to satisfy the basic requirements of a rapidly industrialising country in food and raw materials, but also to build up the necessary reserves in the event of war.

In the prewar, despite the fact that the Soviet state had to considerably increase its expenditure on defence, important successes were achieved in raising the living standards of the working people. The national income of the USSR rose from 105 billion roubles in 1938 to 128 billion roubles in 1940.

At the same time consumption of food and consumer goods also rose.

In 1938-1940 the Soviet state increased its expenditure on amenity services to the towns and villages. The number of rest-homes and sanatoria increased. By 1940 more than one and a half million workers were employed in the health services and the number of hospital beds was increased to 800,000 (almost four times as many as before the revolution). Social security benefits were increased as were subsidies to mothers with several children.

4. THE DECISIVE SUCCESSES OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE USSR IN 1933-1941

Making the USSR a Country of Universal Literacy

The success of the first five-year national economic development plans created a new and considerably broader and more stable material base for the development of culture than had existed during the first decade of Soviet power. This made it possible to carry out a cultural revolution on a scale and at a rate hitherto unknown.

State subsidies for cultural development increased dramatically from 24 billion roubles under the first five-year plan to 110 billion roubles under the second five-year plan.

The changes in the social structure of Soviet society and the strengthening of moral and political unity of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia had a beneficial influence on all aspects of the cultural life of the people and on the formation of the morality, culture and way of life of Soviet man.

During the thirties the main targets of Soviet education were the introduction of universal compulsory education for children of school age and the final stamping out of illiteracy. By 1933

a four year primary education had been introduced almost throughout the entire Soviet Union and by 1934 this had been extended to seven years in all the towns and cities. Seven-year compulsory education was also on the agenda of the 17th Party Congress where it was decided that it should be universally introduced under the second five-year plan.

Schools were being built all over the country. Whereas under the first five-year plan the number of new schools built was almost twice that built in the period 1918-1928, during the second and third five-year plans their number more than trebled. The building of schools in the rural areas was particularly intensive.

By 1937 the transition to universal compulsory seven-year education in the towns and the countryside had been largely completed.

In 1940 there were 199,000 schools in the country with a total of 35,552,000 pupils. In 1938 and 1939 almost all those that finished primary school (97.3 per cent) went on to the higher classes. The next stage was to move on to universal compulsory ten-year (secondary) education, a stage which had already begun in the towns.

The enormous success of the school education programme was combined with the systematic improvement of teaching in the Soviet schools, which were required to educate children in the spirit of communist morality and have close ties with life and the practice of building socialism. It was helped by the mass publication between 1933 and 1937 of standard text-books on all subjects. A number of decisions were taken by the Party and the Government on standardising the school curriculum, regulating the teaching process and providing schoolchildren with the necessary equipment.

Of considerable importance to the Soviet education system were two resolutions adopted by the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party in May 1934 entitled "On the Teaching of History in Soviet Schools" and "On the Teaching of Geography in the Primary and Secondary Schools". Improving the teaching of the social and political sciences and the introduction of course on the history of the USSR and the Constitution of the USSR together with the publication of new text-books helped not only to develop

the knowledge of schoolchildren but to actively form their world outlook.

As the number of schools grew larger, so did the teaching staff who ran them. In pre-revolutionary Russia there had only been 280,000 teachers in the whole country. By 1940 their number grew to 1,238,000. This was the result of the Soviet system of teacher training, which by 1940/1941 accounted for 407 higher educational institutions (including teacher training and pedagogical institutes and special faculties at the universities.)

The state was continually concerned to improve the living standards and ideological education of its teachers. In 1936 they received a pay rise and in answer to an appeal from the Komsomol their ranks were supplemented from among the country's youth. In those years the Soviet teacher and Communist Party member A. S. Makarenko (1888-1939) received wide acclaim and a large following from among the teaching profession for his work showing the immense role the socialist labour and the collective play in education.

The successes of the Soviet education system made it possible to achieve the second target—the complete eradication of illiteracy in the country and to complete the education of the illiterate and semi-literate particularly in the national regions.

According to the 1939 census 87.4 per cent of the population were literate. Thus, in only two decades Soviet power had solved a problem which according to forecasts made in pre-revolutionary Russia would take 450 years.

Striking changes took place in the national republics of Central Asia, where before the revolution the percentage of those literate was negligible. As a help to overcoming the cultural backwardness of many of the formerly oppressed peoples new alphabets and scripts were developed for many nationalities. Thus in 1935 the Kabardian language was given a new alphabet based on Russian script and this was immediately followed by similar transcriptions being made for the languages of the peoples of Central Asia, the Volga area, Daghestan and Azerbaijan. In this way these peoples were easily able to get acquainted with the riches of Russian culture and the cultural community between the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union was thereby strengthened.

Soviet higher education took on new features. The vast changes that had taken place during the years of socialist reconstruction were reflected in the geographical location and the wide network of higher educational institutes that had been built throughout the country. Among the 817 higher educational institutes that existed in 1940 more than half were located in Union republics other than the RSFSR. Such republics like Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan (in which there were no institutes of higher education before the revolution) had by 1940/41 outstripped the Russian Federation in terms of the number of students per 10,000 of the population.

The complete eradication of the exploiter classes and the changes in the social composition of Soviet society made it possible to repeal in 1935 the various restrictions on social origin that had been in force at the enrollment to the universities and technical colleges.

The higher education programme of the victorious socialist society was set out in a resolution of the Council of People's Commissars and the Party Central Committee, which was adopted on June 23, 1936 and entitled "On the Work of the Higher Educational Institutes and the Guidance of Higher Education."

The main lines on which higher education in the USSR was restructured in the years immediately prior to the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War were dictated by the needs of socialist construction. The acute shortage of skilled workers in industry and agriculture meant that each year more and more graduate specialists were required. Thus, twice as many students graduated under the second five-year plan as had under the first, while under the third five-year plan there were even more. All told, between 1932 and 1940 almost two million specialists graduated from the higher and secondary educational institutes.

Under the first five-year plan it was the polytechnical institutes that were first reorganised, but during the second and third five-year plans the main efforts were concentrated on strengthening and improving the whole system of higher education in general. Particular attention was devoted to the training of specialists in the national republics. The organisation of higher

medical and technical education was improved and in 1934 the historical faculties were restored at the universities.

In 1940 a total of 126,100 specialists graduated from Soviet higher educational establishments, ten times as many as in 1914. At the same time 236,800 students left the secondary specialised establishments, which was almost 34 times as many as before the revolution. Thanks to the successes of higher and secondary education in the USSR the diplomaed specialists from the institutes and technical colleges, who had been educated in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideology and morality, became the leading force in the country's economy and culture.

Planned improvement in the whole education structure from the primary schools to the higher educational institutes made it possible to create by the end of the thirties a single educational system, which was distinguished for the fact that it genuinely belonged to the people, that it integrated the various educational levels, and that it was tailored to meet the practical needs of the socialist economy and the Soviet nationalities policy.

In 1940 out of a total population of 194,100,000 more than 38 million Soviet citizens were receiving an education at one level or another. A further 13 million were improving their qualification by attending sandwich courses while at work. Thus one quarter of the population of the USSR were studying in one way or another.

By the mid-thirties the Soviet higher education system had become the main source for the replenishment of the Soviet intelligentsia. These new graduates were the first generation of the intelligentsia that had been educated entirely in Soviet schools and who came largely from worker or peasant origins.

The ranks of the Soviet intelligentsia also included many workers and peasants who had been promoted to managerial posts in the national economy thanks to their outstanding talents.

Also numerous representatives of the old intelligentsia participated fully in the creative process of radically restructuring the national economy and culture on the basis of progressive science and ideology, keenly aware of the concern of the state. They had ultimately allied themselves to Soviet power and the Soviet people.

During these years the national composition of the intelligentsia also changed. It now became multinational, inasmuch as the national republics were now producing their quota of skilled specialists.

Thus the Soviet intelligentsia absorbed the finest qualities of the pre-revolutionary intelligentsia and the new morality of the victorious people with their progressive traditions, humanity, ideology and internationalism.

By 1940 the intelligentsia accounted for about ten million persons, who devoted all their talents and abilities to the cause of educating the people, and developing science, literature and the arts in socialist society.

Science at the Service of Socialism

Soviet science became increasingly tied to the practical needs of socialist construction.

Important changes took place in the organisation of science throughout the country. In December 1933 the Academy of Sciences was put directly under the control of the Council of People's Commissars and in 1934 transferred from Leningrad to Moscow. A special Department of Technology was set up to bring scientific research closer to practical work.

The number of branches and research institutes attached to the Academy of Sciences increased in the Union and Autonomous republics. By 1940 the total number of scientific institutes in the USSR including the higher educational institutes had risen to 2,359 and the number of scientific workers to 98,315.

During the thirties Soviet science scored immense successes along two main directions: helping the national economy and developing prospective scientific fields. It was during these years that the Soviet production of synthetic rubber and new synthetic materials got underway. The research, study and industrial exploitation of the country's natural resources was also given wide scope during this period.

Soviet scientists helped open up the Arctic. In 1937 and 1938 the first Arctic expedition "North Pole 1", which included such scientists as I. D. Papanin, P. P. Shirshov, E. T. Krenkel and

Y. K. Fyodorov began its work. At the same time Soviet airmen made the first polar flight to the United States.

The work of Soviet scientists gained worldwide recognition in such fields as nuclear physics, mathematics, astronomy, mechanics and other precise and applied sciences.

The social sciences developed on the methodological basis of Marxism-Leninism. In this sphere an acute ideological struggle took place during the course of which bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts of history, philosophy, political economy and jurisprudence were proved untenable. For the first time in the social sciences systematic courses on Marxism were elaborated to form the basis for standard text-books at use in the institutes and the schools.

Soviet Literature and Art

The First Congress of Soviet Writers which was held in Moscow in August 1934 under the chairmanship of Maxim Gorky marked a new stage in the history of Soviet culture. It played an enormous role in the education of young writers and bringing together the whole Soviet intelligentsia. The congress which was attended by writers of 52 nationalities attested to the fact that a new Soviet multinational literature had been born that was based on the creative method of socialist realism. This method demanded truthful presentation of reality in its revolutionary development and the creation of artistic works that educated the masses in the spirit of socialism.

Among the Union of Soviet Writers, which had a membership of more than three thousand, there were 1,300 writers representing fraternal national literatures.

The various genres of Soviet art during the thirties were distinguished by their creativity. This was linked with the ideological consolidation of the artistic intelligentsia and with the establishment in art of the principles of socialist realism, which offered tremendous creative opportunities for the artistic embodiment of Soviet reality through the media of the theatre, the cinema, painting, sculpture, music and architecture. It was during these years that in addition to the Union of Soviet Writers, the

Union of Soviet Composers was formed in 1933 and the Union of Soviet Artists in 1932.

Soviet art entered a qualitatively new stage of its development. It now became characterised by an attempt to create a broad representation of life in the Soviet Union and establish a new type of literary hero—Soviet man.

An outstanding role in the social, cultural and political life of the country was played by the Soviet cinema. By 1935 the Soviet cinema industry had gone over completely to sound films and during the late thirties the first full-length colour films were produced.

Many of the films made at this period like *Chapayev* and *We're from Kronstadt* have become classics. A favourite theme was the life and work of Lenin as can be seen from such Soviet classics as *Man with a Gun, Lenin in October* and *Lenin in 1918*. Contemporary Soviet life also featured prominently in the Soviet cinema as well as historical and revolutionary themes.

In 1940 there were 908 professional theatres in the USSR, representing the dramatic art of dozens of nations, big and small. Before the revolution there were only three theatres in the whole of Central Asia; by 1940 this number had risen to 142. As well as performing the classical works of the great Russian and foreign dramatists the Soviet theatre also devoted a considerable part of its repertoire to the production of plays by Soviet playwrights. The 1938 All-Union contest for the best Soviet play provided a great stimulus to the creative efforts of writers and drama groups.

The successes of the professional arts were accompanied by the mass development of the amateur arts, particularly the amateur theatre. Amateur drama groups sprang up on the collective and state farms and by 1934 there were more than 200 of them.

For the practitioners of the pictorial arts during the 1930s there was much work to be done. The building of the new towns, of the Palaces of Culture and of the Moscow Metro, and the decoration work on the Moskva-Volga Canal and the pavilions of the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow gave rise to new monumental forms of architecture, painting and sculpture. The finest features of the new architecture were expressively demonstrated at the Soviet pavilion (designed by B. Iofan) at

the World Exhibition in Paris in 1937. The sculptural group by Vera Mukhina "Worker and Collective-Farm Woman" which was displayed at this exhibition became a symbol of socialist society.

These years also saw the development of Soviet painting and graphics, which achieved great success in portraying Soviet man and his heroic feats of labour.

Soviet poster painting at this time was particularly concerned to combat fascism and reveal its inhumanity.

The distinctive feature of Soviet culture during the thirties was the flourishing of the cultures of the fraternal peoples, cultures that were at once national in form and socialist in content.

The clearest demonstration of this important and significant process were the first national arts ten-day festivals of the Union republics which were held in Moscow. At the first Ukrainian Arts Festival that was held in 1936 other republics also took part with the result that it became not only a display of creative art, but also a means for the exchange of creative experience.

Soviet art and literature thus demonstrated their ideological and artistic maturity and high professional standards, and their important social role as a means of educating and culturally enriching the Soviet people, the builders of socialism.

The Soviet Contribution to World Culture

The achievements of Soviet culture were of great international importance as a demonstration of the enormous cultural resources of the Soviet people, the first people to have cast off the yoke of capitalism and become the masters of their own destiny. For the first time in the history of the world a new culture had been born, a culture that was socialist, progressive and revolutionary all at once. Obviously, therefore, the cultural undertakings of the USSR were closely followed by the working people and progressive intelligentsia in the capitalist countries.

Thus, during the thirties there began a broad exchange of scientific delegations between the USSR and other countries, while the USSR began to participate in international scientific congresses and host international conferences. The International

Congress of Physiologists which was held in Leningrad in 1935 showed to the world the successes of the physiological science in the USSR and particularly the Pavlovian School. The scientists that came to the International Congress of Geologists that was held in Moscow in 1937 went home convinced of the scope and the planned nature of the studies of natural resources in the USSR and their utilisation for the good of the people.

The international contacts of Soviet artists were also expanding during this period. Soviet films were warmly received throughout the world. Musicians like L. Oborin, Y. Fliyer and E. Gilels won international competitions. The plays of the Moscow Art Theatre which went on tour in 1937 were acclaimed by audiences all over Europe and America.

Important cultural and political events of the time were the World Congresses of Writers in Defence of Culture, the first of which was held in Paris in 1935 and the second in Madrid in 1937. To the voices of the Soviet writers who warned of the danger of a new world war were added those of the most advanced intellectuals in the West.

Soviet culture, which was a combination of advanced democratic traditions and the bold spirit of innovation, won the sympathy of the finest representatives of the creative intelligentsia abroad.

Through their art the Soviet people struggled for humanism, for peace between nations and against the threat of fascism and world war.

The completion of the transition period and the virtual building of socialism in the USSR were thus accompanied by decisive successes in the field of culture. In little more than twenty years radical changes had taken place which fundamentally altered the character of the country's culture, the social and material base of that culture and its objectives and purpose. A new type of culture had been born, the Soviet culture that was socialist in character and national in form. A radical change too had been wrought in the consciousness of the masses and the new culture was helping to shape a new man by promoting through science, education, arts, and morality the ideas of patriotism, internationalism, humanism and optimism and the sense of belonging to the people and to the Party. Thus a new Soviet people's intel-

ligentsia came into being. All this marked a great change in the intellectual life of society, a cultural revolution in the Land of Soviets.

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Under the leadership of the Communist Party the Soviet people worked selflessly to build up their socialist economy and culture. The whole country seethed with creative activity.

As a result of the successful development of the third five-year plan the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government gave instructions to begin work in the spring of 1941 on drawing up a fifteen year long-term economic development plan. But the peaceful creative labour of the Soviet people was brutally interrupted in June 1941 when Hitlerite Germany treacherously invaded the USSR.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR (1941-1945)

1. HITLERITE GERMANY'S INVASION OF THE USSR. PUTTING THE COUNTRY ON A WAR FOOTING (JUNE 1941-NOVEMBER 1942)

The Beginning of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People

On June 22, 1941 fascist Germany in gross violation of the treaty it had signed with the USSR invaded the Soviet Union. One hundred and fifty-three German divisions were thrown against the USSR and powerful infantry and tank units crossed the Soviet border on a wide front. At the same time German planes carried out heavy bombing of border points, airfields, railways, railway stations and towns.

At the same time Romania, Hungary and Finland sent a combined total of 37 divisions against the Soviet Union. Along the Soviet borders there were concentrated 190 divisions comprising 5.5 million men, 3,700 tanks, 5, 000 planes and more than 47,000 guns and mortars.

Fascist Italy also declared war on the Soviet Union and Germany was further aided by Spain and Bulgaria. At the same time imperialist Japan held a million-strong Kwantung Army ready for action along the USSR's Far Eastern borders.

The aim of the German fascists in launching this vicious attack on the USSR was the destruction of the socialist state, the restoration of the rule of the landowners and capitalists, the liquidation of the country's national independence and the enslavement of the Soviet people.

Mortal danger hung over the country. Broadcasting to the people at mid-day on June 22, the Soviet Government appealed to everyone to rise up in a Patriotic War against the fascist invaders. For the Soviet people this was a just war for the freedom and independence of the socialist state and for the liberation of the peoples enslaved by fascism.

On the same day the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR ordered the mobilisation of all reservists and proclaimed martial law in the European part of the USSR.

The Soviet people to a man rose to the defence of their country. Workers, peasants and intellectuals were fired with patriotic fervour. They showed their unshakable resolution to defend every inch of their native soil and fight to the very death to drive the enemy out. The Soviet people united closely behind the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against Hitlerite Germany was at the same time part of the overall struggle of all peace-loving nations against fascist aggression. It was waged in the interests of the whole of progressive mankind.

From the very beginning of the Great Patriotic War the Communist Party took over the massive task of organising the struggle against the fascist invaders and putting the whole country on a military footing.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party took steps to mobilise all the country's forces. These were set out in the form of a directive of June 29, 1941 from the Council of People's Commissars and the Party Central Committee. The main points contained in this directive were outlined by J. V. Stalin in a radio broadcast to the nation on July 3, 1941.

On June 30, 1941 the State Defence Committee was formed under the chairmanship of J. V. Stalin. The Committee was given absolute power in the state for the duration of the war and decided all military and economic issues affecting the country. Prominent Party and state figures like L. I. Brezhnev, K. Ye.Voroshilov, A. A. Zhdanov, D. Z. Manuilsky, A. A. Kuznetsov, M. A. Suslov, P. K. Ponomarenko, N. S. Khrushchev and A. S. Shcherbakov were put on to military work, and tens of thousands of Party workers went off to the front to strengthen the discipline and morale in the army. Hundreds of thousands

of Communists joined the army so that by the end of 1941 there were 1.3 million Communists in the Red Army. With their ardent speeches and their personal example they filled the soldiers with bravery and courage. Side by side with the Communists were the Komsomol youth, fighting bravely against the invaders. At the same time hundreds of thousands of volunteers joined the army or the home guard, the Moscow section of which numbered 120,000 and the Leningrad, 160,000.

Meanwhile those who remained in the rear strove to make their contribution to defeating the enemy. Housewives and girl students went off to work in the factories and many pensioners came back there to work.

In arousing the Soviet people for the Patriotic War the Communist Party put forward the slogan "All for the Front! All for Victory!"

The military restructuring of the national economy was effected by the Party according to a specially worked out plan. This plan provided for extensive industrial development in the East and the transfer of enterprises from the front-line zone to new sites. At the same time there was to be increased production of armaments, ammunition, metals, coal and petrol.

From October 1, 1941 compulsory military training was introduced for all males between 16 and 50 years of age.

Led by the Communist Party the whole Soviet people rose to the defence of their socialist Motherland.

The situation at the front at the beginning of the war was extremely unfavourable for the Red Army. The Soviet troops in the border districts were in a very critical situation. To begin with they were outnumbered nearly two to one. Then they suffered considerable damage from enemy air attacks on strategic points and in the rear, which disrupted lines of communications. Retreat under heavy fighting was consequently inevitable.

By early July 1941 the enemy had taken Lithuania, a large part of Latvia, and the western territories of Byelorussia and the Ukraine. Enemy forces were approaching the Western Dvina and the upper reaches of the Dnieper.

The retreat of the Soviet troops at the beginning of the war was due to a number of factors, not the least of which was the suddenness of the enemy's attack. Hitler had beforehand mili-

tarised the country's economy and the whole life of the German people. Furthermore, the Germans had military experience fighting in the West, they had superiority in men and arms and they had already been concentrated along the borders in a state of battle readiness. Hitler also had the economic resources of almost the whole of Western Europe at his disposal. At the same time there had been miscalculations regarding the timing of Hitlerite Germany's possible attack on the USSR and consequently insufficient preparations had been made to ward off the first blows. The rapid advance of the enemy into Soviet territory deprived the country of many of the armaments factories that were located in the western regions. Some of these were evacuated in time, but others remained on enemy-occupied territory.

But the great difficulties of the early period of the war could not break the morale of the Red Army.

Thus, for a whole month after the German invasion the heroic small garrison of the Brest Fortress struggled on. Then again on June 26, 1941 another unforgettable feat of bravery was performed by Captain N. F. Gastello and his air crew. With his aircraft ablaze from an enemy shell in the petrol tank Gastello at the cost of his own life rammed a column of enemy tanks and trucks, wreaking enormous damage on the enemy.

Thousands of other Soviet soldiers performed unparalleled acts of bravery, heroism assuming a mass scale.

The fierce resistance in the Smolensk Region held up the enemy onslaught until mid-September.

The German army group advancing to Leningrad for all its superiority could not claim any decisive success. It was held up at the approaches to the city and was forced to begin a long blockade.

By mid-July 1941 the enemy had been stopped near Kiev. Soviet troops and the working people of the Ukrainian capital locked with the enemy in a vicious battle which lasted 73 days without abating. Some 90,000 working people from the city and the Kiev Region joined the home guard to defend the city. Only on September 19 after very heavy fighting were the Soviet troops finally forced out of Kiev.

The separate Maritime Army fighting in the vicinity of Odessa in cooperation with the Black Sea Fleet and the civilian pop-

ulation of the city held out against the enemy for more than two months. But on October 16, 1941 the last defenders left the city. The heroic defence of Odessa was one of the most stirring episodes in the history of the Great Patriotic War.

In the North Soviet troops in cooperation with the Northern Fleet beat off German infantry and naval attacks on Murmansk.

Thus the enemy plans which aimed at quickly crushing the Soviet Armed Forces were frustrated.

In the second half of September 1941 a number of Soviet armed units, which had particularly distinguished themselves, were given the honorary title "Guards" and thus in the fires of battle were the first Soviet Guards units born.

Economic Restructuring in the Rear

Amid this exceptionally complex and hazardous situation a restructuring of the Soviet economy took place and the whole of the rear was put on a military footing. As a result of enemy invasion the Soviet Union was deprived of a number of important regions. To compensate for the temporary loss of the industrial and agricultural regions in the western part of the USSR, the central and particularly the eastern regions of the country had to sharply increase their own output. This problem was successfully solved by the Soviet people. At the same time many other enterprises were converted from civil to military production in a very short time and were soon producing a varied range of armaments.

The Government set up new organs to exercise operative control over the different aspects of this work. Thus under the Council of People's Commissars a Manpower Registration and Distribution Committee and an Evacuation Council were formed. In the interests of the improved organisation of weaponry and military technology production a People's Commissariat for the Tank Industry and a People's Commissariat for Mortar Production were set up in autumn 1941.

All the material and labour reserves, the whole economy of the country were mobilised and directed to providing for the needs of the front and for winning victory.

One of the most important and most difficult tasks during the first months of the war was the evacuation of industrial enterprises from those regions that lay directly in the path of the enemy. In the first three months of the war alone 1,523 enterprises were transferred to the East. At the same time thousands of collective and state farms were uprooted lock, stock and barrel and transported into the central regions of the country. More than ten million persons were evacuated to the rear.

The enterprises that had been transferred to the new sites had to be put back into operation in the shortest possible time. The workers and managers who performed this work displayed tremendous fortitude, working long hours out in the open, frequently in the rain and snow, and living in tents or dugouts without even the most elementary facilities. As a result the average time it took to put a factory back into operation ranged from one and a half to two months.

The conversion of industry to military production was largely completed within three to four months, while putting the whole economy on a military footing took about a year. Resiting industry from the western and central regions led to the creation of a powerful military industry in the East, and this played an important role in achieving victory over the enemy.

The loss of factories in the West and the evacuation of others to the East sharply reduced industrial output during the first months of the war.

The problem of a work force became exceptionally acute, as the number of those working at the factories had been sharply reduced. Steps were taken to mobilise the urban and rural population for work in industry and to redistribute the work force among the sectors of the economy in such a way as to favour the defence industry. New workers underwent crash courses to learn the skills required of them, while many other workers were retrained to meet the needs of the defence industry.

The food and consumer goods reserves in the country were drastically cut and a rationing system was introduced by the Government so as to ensure that regular supplies of food and other goods were available to the army and the urban population.

The Great Patriotic War made it necessary to restructure ideological work in conformity with the immediate tasks at hand. "In the final analysis," said Lenin, "victory in any war depends on the spirit animating the masses that spill their own blood on the field of battle. The conviction that the war is in a just cause and the realisation that their lives must be laid down for the welfare of their brothers strengthen the morale of the fighting men and enable them to endure incredible hardships."[1] In accordance with Lenin's behests the Communist Party considered that moral and political factors, ideological conviction, the consciousness of being right and devotion to the cause of communism were the decisive conditions for victory over the enemy. Thus, all the ideological and political work carried out among the working people was designed to inculcate a spirit of selfless devotion to their Soviet Motherland, a deep-seated faith in victory over the enemy and tenacious struggle at the front and in the rear.

Propaganda workers conducted a broad campaign to explain the nature and aims of the war of liberation against fascism and the tasks that faced the Soviet people in this war. They helped the workers and peasants to understand the events that were happening around them. Through the press and the radio the Soviet people learned about the situation at the front and in the rear and were able to exchange production experience.

Soon after the outbreak of war the Komsomol members at many enterprises in the city of Gorky who were working hard to meet the needs of the front began a movement to do two, three or more individual norms. The slogan of the movement was "Work not only for yourself, but for your comrade at the front!" This initiative was taken up by workers at many other plants throughout the country.

Other forms of socialist competition also developed at this time. There were front-line brigades, movements for workers to combine different professions, and movements for workers to acquire completely new skills. Everywhere women were doing men's jobs. Scientists and inventors were working together with

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Speech at an Enlarged Conference of Workers and Red Army Men in Rogozhsko-Simonovsky District of Moscow, May 13, 1920", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 137.

men on the shop floor to put their innovations into practice. Advanced workers, engineers and technicians were everywhere trying to improve production technology and find new ways to tap internal resources.

Soviet railway workers particularly were compelled to work under great stress. During the first months of the war one and a half million items of rolling stock carrying equipment, materials and passengers were evacuated from the frontline zone.

The collective-farm peasantry too showed great patriotism and heroic feats of labour. Despite the fact that the menfolk had left the fields for the army and that there were fewer tractors and automobiles, the 1941 harvest was fully gathered. At the same time in the eastern and central regions of the country the sowing of winter crops was much expanded. Here an important role in raising the production activity of the peasantry and increasing their political awareness was played by the political departments of the machine and tractor stations and the state farms, which were re-established during this period.

Of great importance to the country during the war was the fact that hundreds of thousands of women began to work in all the various branches of the national economy. Soviet youth too did its duty to the country. In the factories, plants and mines, on the transport, and in agriculture young Soviet patriots showed genuine labour heroism.

The workers in the towns and villages kept up a constant stream of letters and parcels to the soldiers at the front. On the 24th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution Muscovites alone sent more than 100,000 gifts to the men fighting at the front. At the same time the fighting units were systematically visited by delegations of workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia.

On August 17, 1941, which was a Sunday, the whole country worked without pay and the money saved thereby was put into the defence fund. In the autumn collections were held everywhere of warm clothes for the men at the front. By the beginning of 1942 the working people had donated to the defence fund over 11 kilos of platinum, 83 kilos of gold and 6,700 kilos of silver and other valuables.

The Position of the Working People in the Enemy-Occupied Zones

By the autumn of 1941 the Hitlerites had occupied the Baltic states, Byelorussia, Moldavia, most of the Ukraine and the Crimea and a large part of Karelia. In a number of places they had also drove deep wedges into the RSFSR, having seized a considerable part of the Leningrad and Moscow regions and a number of other districts.

Those parts of the country that were occupied by the enemy by November 1941 had before the war contained 40 per cent of the total population of the Soviet Union and produced 63 per cent of the nation's coal, 58 per cent of its steel, 38 per cent of its grain and much else besides.

The Nazis organised the planned plunder of these zones, taking back to Germany factory and plant installations, scientific research equipment, industrial and agricultural raw materials, foodstuffs and works of artistic and historical value.

The population were put on starvation rations and they went without the most essential items of daily life such as manufactured articles, footwear, kerosene, soap and matches. Tens of thousands died from hunger and epidemics.

The fascist barbarians mercilessly pursued their policy of physically annihilating a large part of the Soviet population. They murdered Communist Party members and all those who were active in the Soviet, collective farm, trade union or Komsomol organisations. The Jewish population were exterminated *en masse*.

A brutal regime was enforced in the occupied zones, which was intended to turn Soviet citizens into slaves and crush any attempt at resistance. In all the towns and villages in the occupied areas field commandant's offices were set up to enforce the "new order".

The first actions of the occupying forces were marked by the arbitrary use of violence and brutality. Concentration camps of various types were set up, such as evacuation camps and ghettos. For any failure to obey the occupying forces severe punishment was inflicted. Mass executions were an everyday occurrence.

All industrial enterprises were declared the property of the fascist state. The Soviet workers in the occupied territory had to be forced to work for the invaders. If they refused to work they were subjected to corporal punishment and deprived of their food rations. Forced labour at the fascist-controlled enterprises caused suffering beyond belief. The workers were made to do impossibly difficult tasks, failure in which meant severe punishment.

The peasants were forced to pay numerous taxes, and there existed a whole system of requisitions and obligations which they were required to fulfill. Severe punishment was meted out to those who failed to supply the required quantity or to pay any of the various taxes or levies.

An order issued in October 1941 permitted only primary education to be given to children from 7 to 14 years. Furthermore, this had to be paid for by the parents. Young folk from 14 to 20 years were required by law to do compulsory "labour service".

In November 1941 there began what was euphemistically called a "recruitment" of work force for Germany. Soviet citizens were herded off in droves to work in fascist bondage. In 1942 alone two million persons suffered this fate.

But those Soviet people who found themselves in the occupied zones from the very first days of the occupation fought a bitter and irreconcilable struggle against their enslavers. Led by the underground communist organisations they either joined the partisans or by constant acts of subversion and sabotage made life unbearable for the invaders and their underlings.

The Collapse of the Fascist Plan for the International Isolation of the USSR

To a very great extent Hitler's plans depended on the international isolation of the USSR. These however were frustrated by Soviet policy.

Bearing as it did the brunt of the struggle against fascist Germany, the Soviet Union stood at the vanguard of the struggle of all peoples against fascism.

Thus inspired by the example of the Soviet Union Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, France and other countries stepped up their resistance against fascism.

When Hitlerite Germany invaded the USSR the Communist Parties in many countries came out with statements explaining the aims and character of German intentions. They called upon the masses to intensify the struggle against fascism and support the just cause of the USSR.

The entry of the Soviet Union into the war against the fascist powers was the decisive factor which made the Second World War a just, anti-fascist war of liberation.

Progressive people everywhere supported the Soviet Union in its war of liberation and did everything they could to smash the fascist aggressors. This laid the foundations for a powerful anti-Hitler coalition. The stubborn and consistent struggle of the USSR for the organisation of a collective rebuff to the aggressors at last became triumphant. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union the governments of Britain and the United States declared their support for the USSR in its struggle against fascist aggression.

From September 29 to October 1, 1941 a conference was held in Moscow between representatives of the three powers, Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States. This conference drew up a plan for deliveries of armaments, equipment and foodstuffs to the Soviet Union, while the USSR in its turn agreed to provide strategic raw materials for Britain and the United States.

But no serious military action was taken by the Allies against Germany and, in effect, the Soviet Union at that time bore the brunt of the war alone.

The German Defeat in the Battle of Moscow

Hitler's High Command considered the Moscow sector of the front to be strategically the most decisive. Therefore it was here that the main forces of the German army were concentrated.

From September 30 to October 2 the Nazis with overwhelming superiority in men, tanks and aviation launched a general offensive against Moscow.

The working people of the Soviet capital, led by the Moscow Party organisation, rose to the defence of their native city. In all districts of Moscow voluntary worker-communist battalions were formed. Twenty-four thousand Muscovites joined the anti-aircraft defence units. More than 500,000 of the city's inhabitants, the larger part of whom were women, set to work building defences. At various distances along the approaches to the capital anti-tank emplacements were laid, ditches were dug, anti-tank obstacles and weapon emplacements were built, barded wire fences were erected and timber obstructions were placed. The streets of Moscow were covered with barricades.

Some of the central state institutions, the higher educational establishments and the most important industrial enterprises were evacuated from Moscow. At all the other plants and factories that remained the workers were engaged in turning out weapons and ammunition.

On October 19, 1941 the city was declared to be in a state of siege.

The nearer the enemy got to Moscow, the heavier grew the fighting and the more stubborn was the resistance of the Soviet soldiers.

At the same time of their offensive against Moscow the Nazis also launched an offensive against the Donbas and the Crimea. On October 30 the heroic defence of Sevastopol began.

On October 16 another offensive was launched with the aim of encircling Leningrad.

In these grim days the Soviet Union celebrated the 24th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. On November 6, 1941 with the enemy at the very gates of Moscow the official session of the Moscow City Soviet of Working People's Deputies and public representatives was held below ground in the Mayakovskaya Metro Station. At the session which was devoted to the anniversary of the October Revolution, the main report was delivered by J. V. Stalin. While the session was on the anti-aircraft gunners and fighter pilots defending Moscow did not let a single enemy plane come within reach of the city.

On November 7, 1941, the traditional parade of Soviet troops was held in Red Square, from where the soldiers left directly for the front.

The session of the Moscow City Soviet and the parade in Red Square were of great importance in raising the morales of the Soviet people. The fact that these events took place at precisely the time when Hitler's propagandists were claiming that the German army was on the point of entering the Soviet capital, instilled all the Soviet people with an unshakable confidence in victory.

On November 15, 1941 Hitler renewed his offensive against Moscow. A total of 51 divisions were brought up against Moscow together with 1,500 tanks, 3,000 heavy guns and 700 warplanes.

By early December the Hitlerites were very close to the capital, being in certain sectors no more than 25 to 30 kilometres away.

In the heavy fighting around Moscow which lasted until December 5 Soviet troops showed miraculous bravery and heroism.

One of the most memorable examples of heroism during the defence of Moscow was shown by the soldiers of the glorious 316th Infantry Division under General I. V. Panfilov. This division whose bravery will never be forgotten by the Soviet people held the Volokolamsk sector. A group of soldiers made up of Russians, Ukrainians, Kazakhs and Kirghizes, fought on the defence line at the Dubosekovo station. On November 16, dozens of enemy tanks and large numbers of infantry moved into the breach. But despite the numerical superiority of the enemy, the soldiers of the 316th division engaged in unequal battle and did considerable damage to the enemy. "Panfilov's Men" as they have become known did not give an inch of ground, though many died the death of the brave. The ardent words of V. G. Klochkov, a Communist and political instructor, when he called out to his soldiers: "Russia is huge, but there is nowhere to retreat. Moscow is behind us," rang out across the whole country. And though Klochkov himself was killed in action, his words became the motto for all the defenders of the capital.

Other examples of heroism in the battlefields around Moscow were shown by the Moscow Regional Division, which was formed from home-guard soldiers from the Leningrad and Kuibyshev districts of Moscow, the 201st Latvian infantry division and many others.

The Soviet air force and anti-aircraft gunners proved a reliable defence against enemy air attack. Of the 8,823 enemy planes that tried to get through to Moscow only 337 made it. At the same time the Nazis lost more than one thousand aircraft.

In the countryside outside Moscow there were dozens of partisan detachments operating. They killed thousands of enemy soldiers and destroyed a considerable amount of their equipment. Among the most heroic of these partisans were Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, Alexander Chekalin, Liza Chaikina, and many others who gave their lives to their country in the name of victory.

Steadfastness and bravery were qualities shared by officers and men of all the nationalities of the country in the battlefields outside Moscow. They were all possessed by the same desire to defend their capital city and defeat the enemy no matter what the cost.

Having exhausted the enemy at the approaches to Moscow and brought up the necessary reserve concentrations, the Soviet Supreme Command decided to launch a counter-offensive. The plan for the counter-offensive was based on routing the enemy's crack divisions on the wings with a powerful thrust aimed simultaneously at the centre.

At the same time Soviet troops increased their operations on all fronts thereby successfully preventing the enemy from withdrawing any forces from these fronts to use against Moscow.

On December 6, 1941 Soviet forces went over to a decisive counter-offensive, the main thrust of which was aimed at the enemy tank units which surrounded Moscow from the north and the south.

Within a few days the counter-offensive produced a radical change in the situation. Soviet forces began to advance west, striking blow after blow at the retreating enemy.

The historical victory in the battle of Moscow was a fundamental blow to the Nazi army. It showed that the Red Army had become a force that was capable of not only staunchly defending but of decisively attacking.

By February 23, 1942 the Red Army had in some places advanced more than 400 kilometres west.

In the battle of Moscow the Red Army had defeated one of the main German army groups. The myth of the invincibility of Hitler's army had been dispelled and the plan for a *Blitzkrieg* buried forever.

The defeat of the Hitlerite armies at Moscow was the most decisive event of the first year of the Great Patriotic War and one of the first major defeats suffered by the Nazis in the Second World War. Its impact on the subsequent course of the war was enormous. After the Battle of Moscow the course of the war reached a turning point of world historical significance.

Creating the Conditions for a Radical Turning Point in the Course of the War

By the summer of 1942 the international situation had changed in favour of the USSR. The anti-Hitler coalition was now broader and stronger: by early summer 1942 it included 28 states. This fact alone attested to the complete collapse of the political calculations of fascist Germany that the USSR could be isolated.

The victory of the Red Army at Moscow compelled ruling circles in Britain and the United States to re-evaluate Soviet military strength. The successes of the Red Army were of particular importance during the first half of 1942 when imperialist Japan was winning dangerous victories over the Anglo-American forces in South-East Asia and German and Italian troops were having things their own way in North Africa.

In these conditions ruling circles in Britain and the United States took steps to further strengthen their alliance with the USSR. On May 26, 1942 an Anglo-Soviet treaty of alliance in the war against Hitler and on cooperation and mutual aid after the war was signed in London. On June 11, 1942 a "Soviet-US Agreement on the Principles Underlying Mutual Assistance in the Conduct of the War against Aggression" was signed in Washington. The Government of the United States reaffirmed its readiness to provide aid to the USSR in the form of armaments and military materials. Agreement was also reached on opening a second front in Europe in 1942. But ruling circles in Britain

and the United States delayed this hoping that in the course of the war both Germany and the USSR would wear each other out. But in the summer of 1942 Hitler's army was still a very serious threat. It had a number of definite advantages, particularly technological superiority. Furthermore, the whole of occupied Europe was working for fascist Germany.

Large areas of the Soviet Union—the Baltic states, Byelorussia, Moldavia and almost the whole of the Ukraine were still under enemy occupation. Although the Nazis had still not been able to take Leningrad, they were blockading the city and cutting off almost all its lines of communication with the outside world. Fuel supplies there were running dry and food could only be brought in very limited quantities across Lake Ladoga or by air. At the same time the city was subjected to methodical artillery barrage and brutal air-raids. But the courageous defenders of Leningrad would not give way.

During the course of 1942 the Soviet defence industry achieved some notable successes. By the middle of that year the whole economy of the country had been put on a war footing. In the Urals, Siberia, the Volga area, Kazakhstan and Central Asia which were all far in the rear building work went on on plants, factories, mines and power stations as well as on the restoration of the enterprises that had been evacuated. Thus in all these areas in 1942 there were some 10,300 industrial building projects in progress.

From March 1942 industrial production grew rapidly. In the first half of 1942 the defence industry not only regained its lost capacity but even considerably surpassed it. In that same summer the metal-workers of Kuznetsk initiated an all-Union socialist emulation.

With a view to getting the front and the country as a whole more bread and vegetables the agricultural workers decided to sow land over and above the plan. The sowing areas in the centre and east of the country had been considerably increased against 1940. During the days when sowing was in progress there was mass-scale competition among the brigades of women tractor drivers. Labour discipline was strictly enforced on the collective farms and the per capita output of daily work was considerably increased.

But this expansion of sowing areas and increased output could not compensate for the enormous losses caused by enemy occupation of the most important agricultural regions.

The life of the Soviet people had become very hard indeed. There was not enough food and essential industrial goods, and housing in many parts became very cramped because of the need to find room for those that had been evacuated. But the workers in the rear bore these hardships and privations with equanimity, continuing their selfless labour.

The People's War in the Enemy Rear

In the enemy rear the partisan movement operated on an extensive scale. Under the leadership of the underground Party organisations numerous partisan detachments and brigades had sprung up in all the occupied zones. These were now extending their operations on a broad scale and presenting a considerable threat to the fascist invaders.

On May 30, 1942 a Central Staff of the Partisan Movement was set up under the Supreme Command General Headquarters to coordinate the partisan movement throughout the country. From the very outbreak of the war partisan units had sprung up in Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia and Moldavia and the first to join them were the Communist Party and Komsomol members. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens formed part of the partisan reserve providing information or acting as contacts for them.

The partisans blew up railways and roads thereby preventing or severely hampering enemy operations and demoralising the enemy forces in the rear. By daring raids carried out far into the enemy rear they kept the fascist invaders in a state of constant anxiety. During the course of the partisan struggle many prominent partisan commanders came to the fore. The names of such men as S. A. Kovpak, A. F. Fyodorov, M. I. Naumov, S. V. Rudnev, K. S. Zaslonov, V. I. Kozlov, A. N. Saburov and N. I. Kuznetsov are famous throughout the Soviet Union.

The partisans freed large areas from fascist occupation and these served as bases for the partisan units. Among the best known of these were the partisan bases in the forests of Bryansk, in Byelorussia and in the Leningrad region.

Hitler's commanders had to detach large forces of regular troops to fight against the partisans, who through their constant military operations drew away from the front some 10 per cent of the enemy forces.

The Heroic Defence of Stalingrad

Ruling circles in Britain and the United States did not fulfill their promise to open a second front in 1942. As a result the German High Command was able to throw in its reserves on to the Eastern Front. By July 1, 1942 Hitler had 237 divisions (air force not included) on the Soviet front. But in North Africa where the British were fighting there were only four German and 11 Italian divisions.

Despite their enormous strength, however, the Hitlerites could no longer launch an offensive along the whole front as they did at the beginning of the war. They, therefore, concentrated their forces for a blow against the southern sectors. The aim of this offensive was to break through Soviet lines, force a path into the huge bend of the Don and develop the offensive in the direction of Stalingrad and the Caucasus. Hitler further planned to consolidate his forces in the south and then launch an offensive north-east.

The Red Army put up stubborn resistance against the superior forces of the enemy. At Sevastopol, where the Germans were launching attack after attack, the heroic defenders frustrated plans for an early capture of the city. The enemy suffered considerable losses in men and equipment as the Soviet troops clung staunchly to the every inch of ground. But the odds were uneven in the extreme and on July 3 the Soviet Command was forced to order land and naval forces to retreat from Sevastopol after a heroic resistance that had lasted 250 days.

The defence of Sevastopol was one of the glorious pages in the history of the Great Patriotic War.

On May 12 Soviet forces went over to the offensive in the vicinity of Kharkov. But overwhelmingly superior fascist forces launched a counterstrike and cut the communication lines of the advancing Soviet troops. The Soviet forces were compelled to retreat east. This setback at Kharkov and the retreat from the Crimea had a profoundly negative effect on the course of military operations during the summer of 1942.

The enemy was now able to advance towards Stalingrad. The Soviet troops that defended the approaches to the city were considerably inferior in numbers and in artillery, tanks and aircraft. But fighting bitterly to defend every inch of ground they managed to hold back for a while the furious enemy onslaught on the western bank of the Don.

Meanwhile, the working people of Stalingrad under the leadership of the regional Party committee set about strengthening the city's defences. Every day the 150,000 inhabitants of Stalingrad worked to build up the lines of fortification.

Meanwhile, the war had reached the Caucasus. In late July the German army crossed the Don and entered the Northern Caucasus advancing in some places right to the Caucasian Range.

An order from the Supreme Command on July 28 revealed the immense danger hanging over the country. The words: "Not a Step Back!" which were contained in that order were taken by every soldier as a command from his Motherland to halt the German invasion whatever the cost. The stubborn resistance of the Red Army prevented the Hitlerites from penetrating any further into the western foothills of the Caucasus or crossing the passes in the Central Caucasus.

At the same time a battle of furious intensity was being waged on the Volga. On August 23 after heavy artillery and air bombardment German forces went over to the offensive and broke through to the Volga north of Stalingrad.

The Soviet front command and the City Defence Council immediately sent into the battle units from the city garrison and anti-tank battalions from the tractor plant and the Red October Factory. Under enemy fire the workers of Stalingrad continued to produce armaments which were immediately sent to the front line. The city was officially proclaimed to be in a state of siege.

Barricades were built and new military units formed from the city's workers.

The Nazis continued to bring up fresh troops and got nearer and nearer to the city. The Soviet troops were forced further and further back to the river where they held a very shallow line of defence.

On September 13, 1942 the battle for the city began. The defence of Stalingrad was entrusted to the 62nd Army commanded by General V. I. Chuikov and part of the 64th Army under General M. S. Shumilov. The enemy plan was to break through the Soviet defence at several different places, cut the Soviet units off from one another and destroy them piecemeal.

The defenders of Stalingrad had to fight for every block and for every building. A handful of Guards from General A. I. Rodimtsev's division under the command of Sergeant Ya. F. Pavlov took and held a large four-storey house on Ninth of January Square, fighting off the invaders for almost two whole months. Despite the fact that they were constantly under heavy fire they did not give an inch and held out to the end.

Fine examples of courage and military skill were displayed by the marines of the Volga Flotilla who gave considerable help to the Red Army. Under constant enemy artillery fire and constant aerial bombing they ferried tens of thousands of soldiers and thousands of tonnes of cargo across the Volga.

The valorous defenders of Stalingrad held out in a battle with their powerful and cunning enemy. The soldiers of the heroic 62nd Army beat back more than 200 enemy attacks. In order to weaken the enemy onslaught against the city, the Soviet Supreme Command GHQ stepped up operations in the northern sector of that front. The heavy fighting there went on until the end of September. The Germans were forced to turn considerable forces to meet the threat from the north and this took some of the pressure off the troops defending the city.

The successful defence of the Volga marked the completion of the first stage of the Great Patriotic War. During that period the Soviet people had turned their whole country into a united military camp and created the military and economic conditions necessary for achieving a radical turning point in the course of the war.

2. THE RADICAL TURNING POINT IN THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR (NOVEMBER 1942-1943)

The Great Victory on the Volga

At the end of 1942 the Red Army launched a decisive offensive in a drive to clear the fascist invaders out of the Soviet Union. This offensive was begun in the area between the Volga and the Don.

The counter-offensive plan, which was drawn up by Supreme Command General Headquarters with the participation of the arms and services and front commanders, was based on the idea of surrounding and destroying the army group that had broken through to the Volga.

The Soviet forces on the three fronts involved amounted to one million men, 13,500 guns and mortars, 894 tanks and 1,414 aircraft. At the same time the enemy had 1,011,000 men, 10,300 guns and mortars, 675 tanks and assault guns and 1,216 aircraft. As can be seen from these figures Soviet superiority at the Battle of Stalingrad was not great.

On November 19, 1942 a simultaneous attempt to break through the enemy's defences was begun at several sectors. That morning after heavy artillery bombardment Soviet infantry and tank units went into the attack.

Soviet forces from the north and south moved to meet each other and thereby cut off and encircle the enemy in Stalingrad and its suburbs. On November 23 Soviet mechanised and tank units completed the encirclement. The whole operation was a fine example of military planning by the Soviet general staff and a clear demonstration of the courage and valour of the Soviet soldiers. It had been carefully thought out and prepared for and it had been carried out with rapid precision. Within the short space of three to four days 22 enemy divisions and a huge mass of military equipment had been completely encircled.

In December the Germans tried to break through to the city and rescue their troops, but this attempt was frustrated by Soviet forces.

Meanwhile the encircled armies were subjected to Soviet strikes, artillery and mortar bombardment, and attack by land forces.

The Nazis tried to bring in supplies by air to their beleaguered forces and even to evacuate some of them. From November 18 to January 10 more than 600 German transport planes were shot down near the Volga. The Soviet command proposed that the encircled German troops should capitulate, but they continued to resist.

On January 10, 1943 began the destruction of the encircled enemy. After a period of fierce and bloody fighting they were completely crushed and those who were left capitulated. By February 2 the Battle of Stalingrad was over. Some 147,000 German officers and men lay dead on the battlefield and 91,000 were taken prisoner including 24 generals among whom was the commander-in-chief of the army group, General-Fieldmarshal Paulus.

The Battle of Stalingrad was one of the major battles of world history. It ended in complete victory for the Soviet Union. Never before had Hitler experienced such a crushing defeat. The battle undermined the military might of the Third Reich and its outcome the morale of the German forces and their confidence of victory. The German army was now entering a period of severe crisis.

The victory at Stalingrad showed the whole world the indestructible might of the Red Army. It constituted a radical turning point in the whole course of the Great Patriotic War and enhanced the international prestige of the Soviet Union and its armed forces. The successful Soviet offensive caused great confusion among the enemies of the USSR, while among the country's friends it aroused admiration and gave confidence in the ultimate victory over fascist Germany.

Important changes had also taken place in the international situation in favour of the Soviet Union, for Japan and Turkey held back from joining in the war against the USSR.

The Soviet Winter Offensive in 1942-1943

The defeat of the Hitlerites on the Volga developed into a major Soviet offensive during the winter of 1942-1943. The offensive was launched in the Northern Caucasus, on the Central

Front, in the regions of the Middle and Lower Don, at Voronezh, on the Western Front and at Leningrad.

In early February 1943 there was heavy fighting in the region of Novorossiisk. A marine assault force under Ts. L. Kunikov had made a small bridgehead near the town and Communists of the 18th Army under L. I. Brezhnev, then head of the army's political department, were giving them physical and moral support. For several months they successfully beat off numerous enemy attacks, frustrating German plans to destroy the bridgehead. Gradually this "malaya zemlya" (little bit of land) as it has become known was expanded until it eventually played an important role in the liberation of Novorossiisk and the liquidation of enemy units operating there.

By the spring of 1943 the Northern Caucasus was almost completely liberated.

In January 1943 after a seven-day battle Leningrad was partially deblockaded, which was of enormous political and military significance.

As a result of the victorious winter offensive Soviet forces made substantial advances west, in some places up to 600-700 kilometres, liberating enormous territory from enemy occupation. Communications were now restored between Central Russia and the south.

The successful winter offensive resulted in a sharp worsening in the military and political position of fascist Germany. Under the influence of the Red Army victories both the national liberation and partisan movements in the Nazi-occupied countries of Europe intensified.

The Battle of Kursk

In the summer of 1943 fascist invaders prepared for a new offensive on the Eastern Front. As a result of the total mobilisation of the civilian population in Germany Hitler was able to bring up to the front another two million soldiers. With their new divisions thus being made up to strength as a matter of extreme urgency and numerous divisions being withdrawn from

Europe to fight in the east the Germans were ready for this new offensive on the Soviet front.

The strategic aim of the German offensive was to crush the troops of the Central and Voronezh fronts that were defending the Kursk Bulge and, if successful, strike out against Moscow.

In the spring of 1943 there were 232 German divisions on the Soviet-German Front. For their offensive on the Kursk Bulge the German High Command concentrated fifty divisions along the Central and Voronezh fronts, including 20 tank and motorised divisions. The Germans placed great hopes on their new Tiger and Panther tanks and Ferdinand self-propelled guns.

With the participation of the fronts' commanders the Soviet Supreme Command GHQ drew up a plan for the forthcoming strategic operation. The aim of the plan was to exhaust the main enemy groupings concentrated in the regions of Orel and Belgorod in defensive battles on organised positions and then go over to a counter-offensive.

The German offensive began in the morning of July 5. One and a half thousand tanks with massive ground and air support advanced upon the Soviet lines.

But despite these enormous concentrations of ground and air forces the German attack was checked thanks to the courage and valour of the Soviet troops.

On July 12, 1943 in the vicinity of Prokhorovka an enormous tank battle took place with each side sending in some 1,200 tanks and massive quantities of artillery and aviation. The result was a victory for the Soviet forces which with air support smashed the German tank units and thereby altered the whole subsequent course of the Battle of Kursk. Through the heroic efforts of the Soviet soldiers the German offensive was halted and thrown back. This marked the first stage of the Battle of Kursk.

That same day, July 12, Soviet forces launched a counter-offensive.

The Hitlerites gave stubborn resistance, but on August 5 Orel and Belgorod were liberated. In honour of the troops who had liberated these cities the first artillery salute of the whole war was fired in Moscow. And from that day salutes in honour of the Red Army have become traditional.

In the 50 days which the Battle of Kursk lasted fascist Germany lost more than 500,000 officers and men, more than 3,500 aircraft and 1,500 tanks.

For fascist Germany the Battle of Kursk meant the complete collapse of their offensive strategy. The strategic initiative which was seized by the Red Army in the winter of 1942-1943 had been fully consolidated in the Battle of Kursk and was henceforth maintained till the end of the war.

The victory of the Soviet forces at Kursk marked the beginning of a massive summer and autumn offensive by the Red Army along an enormous two thousand-kilometre front.

After their defeats in the summer the German command went over to a strategic defensive in expectation of a long drawn-out war. Hitler decided that the boundary of the Dnieper offered the best chance for stopping the forward advance of the Soviet troops.

But this decision was ill-founded. The west advance of the Red Army was now unstoppable. They simply prepared to cross the Dnieper on the march.

The enemy had done everything to consolidate their positions on the west bank of the Dnieper, a defence line which they called the "Eastern Rampart". But step by step the Soviet forces pushed back the enemy, breaking down his defences.

In November the centre of events on the Dnieper was transferred to the Kiev sector, which became crucial in the battle for the right-bank Ukraine. On November 6 Kiev, capital of the Ukraine, was liberated.

As a result of the victory at Kursk and the arrival of Soviet forces at the Dnieper a radical change took place in the course of the Great Patriotic War and in the Second World War as a whole. The Ukraine east of the Dnieper was now almost completely liberated from the invaders and operations were already underway to drive the enemy off the west bank.

The summer and autumn campaigns of 1943 had caused Hitlerite Germany irreplacable losses in both men and machinery and the morale of its troops had been fundamentally broken.

A very important part in bringing about this radical change in the course of the war was played by the struggle of the Soviet people in the enemy rear, particularly the partisan movement.

By spring 1943 the Central Partisan Staff had drawn up plans for military operations in Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, the Leningrad Region and other places. The result was considerably increased activity of all partisan units.

Partisan raids on the occupying forces raised the morale of the Soviet people in the occupied zones and inspired them to selfless struggle against the enemy. Furthermore, by drawing on to themselves considerable enemy forces they helped the Red Army in its military operations.

In 1943 the partisan movement was so powerful, well-organised and efficient that its staff was able to draw up plans for the general destruction of the enemy's system of railway communications, an operation which has gone down in the history of the partisan movement under the name of the "rail war".

The powerful and simultaneous blows delivered by the partisans at the railways disorganised the enemy's transport system at the critical time of the Battle of Kursk. They put out of action the main railway line that was used by fascist command to send their reinforcements east.

In 1942 and 1943 the Central Committee of the Party took a number of measures to improve the guidance of the underground and partisan movement. In all the occupied areas regional, city and district Party committees and local Party cells continued to function. Being the executive organs of the republican Central Committees they exercised direct control over the work of the underground Party organisations and partisan units, and they coordinated their operations with those of the advancing Red Army.

The underground organisations tirelessly maintained political and educational work among the masses, strengthening their confidence in a victorious outcome of the war and encouraged more and more people to take active part in the struggle against the enemy.

The Communist Party received great help in the organisation

of the partisan movement from the Komsomol. In the towns and villages underground youth organisations engaged in diversive acts against the enemy, helped disseminate bulletins from the Soviet Information Bureau and anti-fascist leaflets and gave aid to the partisans.

Under the leadership of Communists at Krasnodon (Donbas) an underground Komsomol organisation was formed called the "Young Guard". The organisation included such Komsomol heroes and heroines as Ivan Turkenich, Victor Tretyakevich, Oleg Koshevoi, Ulyana Gromova, Ivan Zemnukhov, Sergei Tyulenin and Lyubov Shevtsova. In early 1943 most of these "Young Guards" fell into the hands of the occupying forces and were brutally done to death.

The partisans and underground fighters had to suffer terrible privations and hardships and many thousands of them laid down their lives for the freedom and independence of their native country.

Educated by the Party, the Soviet people who found themselves in enemy-occupied territory remained true patriots to their Motherland despite the cruelties of the fascist regime and courageously fought with the enemy.

The Feats of Labour Heroism in the Rear

The victories of the Soviet Armed Forces were due in large measure to the efforts of those toiling away in the munitions factories and on the farms in the rear to provide the army with enough weapons, ammunition and food.

Far in the rear where the enterprises evacuated from the west had been restored new factories, plants, mines and power stations were being built. Production facilities in the Urals, which was the main arsenal for the Red Army, increased more than thrice during the first two years of the war. Particularly rapid was the growth of the metallurgical industry. At the same time in Siberia, Central Asia and other distant regions of the country the people worked selflessly.

The workers in the rear constantly increased the flow of supplies for the front. And of primary importance in boosting the

productivity of labour and the output of the munitions industry was the labour heroism of the working class.

The efficiency of railway transport was of prime importance to the front, and the railway workers spared no effort to maintain the supplies throughout the heavy fighting at Stalingrad and Kursk.

Agriculture underwent a very difficult period in 1943. There were neither enough men nor machines to run the farms. The state did everything to help the peasants provide enough food for the army and raw materials for industry. Workers from the towns and the urban population in general were sent out to help the peasantry, while the industrial enterprises did what they could to increase aid to the farmers.

During the course of the war the country was badly in need of additional finance. Here the Soviet people themselves came to the aid of the state organising mass collections for the country's defence funds.

Assistance to the Liberated Areas

As the war progressed the Soviet people were faced with a new urgent task of immense proportions—restoring the national economy in the areas that had been liberated from the enemy.

On August 21, 1943 the Council of People's Commissars and the Party Central Committee passed a resolution "On Urgent Measures to Restore the Economy in the Areas Liberated From German Occupation". These areas were given priority in getting building materials, raw materials and agricultural equipment. The liberated regions were provided with livestock, poultry and seeds. Thousands of agricultural and other specialists were sent off to help restore collective and state farms, repair workshops and machine and tractor stations there. Livestock breeding was renewed and cultural establishments began to open once more.

As more and more of the country was liberated the restoration of industry increased. In the Donbas and the Dnieper regions a number of blast and open-hearth furnaces were restored together with rolling mills, coke ovens and large- and small-scale

mines. In 1943 more than 12,000 kilometres of railway track were also restored.

The conditions under which the Soviet people had to rehabilitate their economy were extremely difficult. As the Hitlerites retreated they destroyed towns and villages and millions of people were forced to live in dugouts and shacks. In the towns there was no light or water. The provision of essential items had to be organised all over again.

Despite great privations those working in the rear and the whole Soviet people put in tremendous effort to achieve victory over the enemy.

The International Importance of the Red Army's Victories. The Teheran Conference

The Red Army's victories in late 1942 and 1943 had far-reaching international repercussions. They marked a turning point not only in the Patriotic War of the Soviet people but in the Second World War as a whole.

In the winter of 1942-1943 the crack divisions of the Italian fascist army were smashed on the Soviet-German front. This helped British and American forces in the summer of 1943 to make a landing in Sicily and on the Apennine Peninsula and launch an offensive into the heart of Italy.

In July 1943 the fascist dictator Mussolini was overthrown. The new government of Badoglio tried to continue the war, but the rapid growth of the anti-fascist movement in Italy led by the Communist Party, the continuing advance of the Red Army and the operations of the Allied forces in the south of the country determined the outcome of the struggle. In 1943 Italy was forced to unconditionally surrender, to break off relations with Germany and subsequently to declare war on her erstwhile ally.

The success of the Red Army did much to undermine the military, political and economic might of fascist Germany and increase the struggle of the peoples of Europe against Hitler's "new order".

And while the fascist bloc was gradually falling apart, the anti-Hitler coalition was getting ever stronger. The strengthening of the alliance and cooperation between the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition was expressed in a conference of the ministers of foreign affairs of the three great powers, the USSR, Britain and the United States, which was held in Moscow between October 19 and 30, 1943. The conference dealt with a number of important questions relating to the course of the war and to the arrangements that would be made after the war.

From November 28 to December 1, 1943 a conference was held at Teheran between the leaders of the three allied powers—Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill together with their political and military advisers.

At the Teheran Conference a number of important decisions were adopted relating to the defeat of fascist Germany and post-war cooperation. The Soviet delegation to this conference were faced with considerable difficulties. Churchill's plan was to open a second front in Europe via the Balkans. But the conduct of military operations in the Balkans far from the nerve centres of Germany could only be of secondary significance and would not make a significant contribution to the defeat of Hitlerism. The plan was subjected to criticism by the Soviet delegation and the conference rejected it. Churchill was forced to agree to an invasion of Europe across the English Channel.

The Soviet delegation consistently strove to achieve coordinated action against fascist Germany, to speed up its defeat and bring about a rapid end to the war and to achieve a democratic order in the world in the post-war period. In regard to the arrangements to be made concerning Germany after the war the British and American delegations put forward plans to split the country up into several states. But these plans were rejected by the Soviet representatives.

The result of the Teheran Conference was a declaration, which formulated and reaffirmed the general line of the three powers in relation to the conduct of the war and cooperation in the post-war period. The conference further adopted a decision according to which Britain and the United States pledged to invade Europe through Northern and Southern France not later than May 1, 1944.

The declaration stressed the desire of the three powers to ensure a stable peace after the war and cooperate with all peace-loving countries, big and small.

The Teheran Conference played a great role in strengthening the British-Soviet-American coalition. It showed the bankruptcy of calculations of German diplomacy that hoped to split the allied camp.

However, despite the agreements reached on bringing about the rapid defeat of fascist Germany, certain circles in the United States and Britain did everything they could to delay the opening of a second front.

The Soviet state strengthened cooperation with the various peoples who were fighting for liberation from German yoke. On December 12, 1943 a Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and post-war cooperation for a period of twenty years was signed in Moscow. The treaty guaranteed Czechoslovakia military aid from the USSR for the purpose of liberating the Czech and Slovak peoples from fascist enslavement. The treaty was concluded on the basis of complete equality and mutual understanding on both sides.

3. THE VICTORIOUS END OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR (1944-1945)

The Decisive Victories of the Red Army in 1944. Driving the Fascist Invaders Beyond the Borders of the Soviet Union

The crushing blows that the fascist army suffered in 1943 at the hands of the Soviet forces destroyed all Hitler's hopes for regaining the strategic initiative. The Soviet Union had now entered the final stage of the war. But a hard struggle still lay ahead and all the efforts of the Soviet people were needed to bring about the final victory over the fascist invaders.

The fact that there was still no second front made it possible for the enemy to throw their main forces on to the Eastern Front. Furthermore, right until July 1944 Hitler's Germany still had the resources of almost the whole of Europe to

draw on and was therefore able to continue the buildup of armaments.

The enemy was still a force to contend with. But the Soviet people had through long and selfless toil completely removed his superiority in manpower and military equipment. The Red Army now had a numerical superiority over the German army of 1.3 to 1, in guns and mortars its superiority was 1.7 to 1, in tanks and self-propelled guns it was 1.4 to 1 and in planes it was 2.7 to 1.

The task now confronting the Soviet Armed Forces was to completely drive the enemy beyond the borders of the Soviet Union, to provide aid to the peoples of Europe in their liberation struggle against the fascist "new order", continue military operations on enemy territory and bring the war to a victorious end. These aims were achieved through a number of military operations.

In early 1944 Soviet forces smashed the Hitlerite troops blockading Leningrad, thus putting an end to the 900-day siege. The self-sacrifice, courage and steadfastness of the defenders of the city of Lenin once more showed the world the unprecedented feats of bravery that the Soviet people are capable of in protecting the gains of the October Revolution and their readiness to defend their socialist Motherland no matter what the cost. Leningrad, a city of fine revolutionary traditions and unshakable staunchness, was subsequently accorded the title of Hero-City by the Soviet people.

After the retreat of the fascist armies from the Dnieper the German High Command sent in new forces to the west bank Ukraine. These, however, were utterly routed by Soviet forces advancing after successful engagements in the south. Almost the whole of the right bank Ukraine was now liberated from the Nazi invaders and the Red Army moved on to the foothills of the Carpathians.

On March 26 Soviet units arrived at the state border running along the River Prut.

The success of the Red Army in the south made the German position in the Crimea hopeless. But Hitler had ordered his armies to hold the Crimea at whatever the cost. Soviet forces, therefore, made careful preparations for the difficult operation of lib-

erating the Crimea. As early as the end of 1943 they had occupied an important bridgehead on the south bank of the Sivash. On April 8, 1944 the battle for the liberation of the Crimea began and by May 12 the fighting was all over.

The winter and spring offensive by the Red Army had brought them to the state borders of the USSR along a line of 400 kilometres.

The victorious offensive of the Red Army and the growth of the Soviet economy showed that the USSR was able to defeat Hitler's Germany alone and unaided and liberate the countries of Europe from the fascist invaders. This forced the Allies to make a landing on the beaches of Normandy on June 6, 1944.

Thus the second front in Europe had been opened, but two years too late. Since Germany was completely tied down by the fighting on the Eastern Front, she was not able to offer serious resistance in the West.

The British and American invasion forces were vastly superior, particularly in air power, to the Hitlerite armies they confronted. Having consolidated their landing at Normandy they went on to launch an offensive into the heart of France. But this did not alter the fact that the Soviet-German front remained the most important and saw the heaviest fighting throughout the Second World War.

By the autumn of 1944 British and American troops with the help of the Resistance movement in the occupied countries had driven the Germans out of France and had liberated Luxembourg, Belgium and part of Holland. Although the Western powers succeeded in drawing off a certain part of the fascist forces, the country's main strength was still thrown up against the USSR. In the summer of 1944 there were 228 enemy divisions, 179 of which were German, and 23 brigades, 5 of which were German, on the Soviet-German front.

The summer offensive of the Soviet Armed Forces began in June 1944. Troops of the Leningrad Front with the support of the Baltic Fleet and flotillas from Onega and Ladoga went over to the offensive on the Karelian Isthmus. Having taken three lines of Finnish defence in heavy fighting the Soviet forces reached the state border. Finland was forced to seek a truce and on September 4, 1944 hostilities were ended altogether.

Meanwhile in summer of that year one of the major strategic operations of the whole Patriotic War had been carried out in Byelorussia. On June 23 Soviet troops advanced along an enormous front from the Western Dvina to the Pripyat and in numerous sectors broke through the enemy lines. As the offensive progressed west the central army group of the enemy was surrounded and on July 3 Minsk was liberated. All in all thirty enemy divisions were smashed in the region of Minsk, Bobruisk and Vitebsk. On July 13 Vilnius, capital of Soviet Lithuania, was liberated.

The victory of the Soviet troops in Byelorussia opened the way for the further advance of the Red Army into Poland and the Baltic states and for an offensive against Eastern Prussia.

Conditions were now favourable for developing the Soviet offensive in the Western Ukraine and Moldavia and by the end of August the whole of the Western Ukraine had been liberated.

On August 20, Soviet troops advanced towards Kishinev encircling 22 German divisions. Part of these forces remained to destroy the encircled fascist army and the Jassy-Kishinev operation was completed on September 3. The whole Soviet Moldavia was now liberated.

In September and October 1944 Soviet forces liberated Tallinn, capital of Estonia, and Riga, capital of Latvia, from enemy occupation. And after heavy fighting the German forces still in the Baltic states were cut off from Eastern Prussia.

The Red Army subsequently liberated the whole of Estonia and a large part of Latvia. Meanwhile Finland, Germany's erstwhile ally, also declared war on Hitler Germany and on October 1, 1944 began military operations against the Germans in the north.

In October Soviet troops fighting in cooperation with the Northern Fleet inflicted a defeat on the enemy in Northern Finland and crossed the border of Norway.

By the end of 1944 the fascist invaders had been completely driven out of the Soviet Union.

The successful westward advance of the Soviet Armed Forces and their entry into the territory of a number of European countries strengthened the liberation struggle of the working people against fascist tyranny. The anti-fascist resistance among the peoples of Europe became month by month an increasingly important factor in the struggle against fascism and accelerated its final defeat.

Throughout the whole war the Polish people had fought consistently against the fascist invaders. The Soviet Government had helped Polish patriots to arm and train military units inside the USSR and these troops together with the Red Army fought heroically against the German fascist invaders. The Red Army also gave its full support to the Polish partisans.

At the end of August 1944 there was a popular anti-fascist uprising in Slovakia led by the Communist Party. In order to bring rapid aid to the insurrectionists Soviet forces launched a military operation in the vicinity of the Dukla Pass. The Soviet troops among whom there was also a Czechoslovak corps broke through the enemy lines and set about the liberation of Czechoslovakia. This joint battle of Soviet and Czechoslovak forces against the German army sealed in blood the friendship between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

While the Soviet forces in the vicinity of Jassy and Kishinev were engaged in mopping up the encircled enemy troops partially on Romanian territory, the Romanian working class led by the Communist Party organised an armed uprising against Antonescu and his fascist Government.

On August 23, 1944 the fascist dictatorship was overthrown in Romania and two days later the new Romanian Government declared war on Germany. Patriotic forces together with troops of the Romanian army cleared the Germans out of Bucharest and when on August 31 Soviet troops entered the capital they were warmly welcomed by the inhabitants.

Having liberated Romania the Soviet forces set about driving the Germans out of Bulgaria. The pro-fascist Government of the country, which claimed to pursue a "policy of neutrality", still continued to provide help to fascist Germany. Then on Septem-

ber 5, 1944 the Soviet Government declared war on Bulgaria.

The entry of Soviet troops on Bulgarian territory accelerated the armed uprising that had been long in preparation. This uprising was led by the Bulgarian Workers' Party headed by Georgi Dimitrov. After the victorious anti-fascist uprising on September 9, 1944 democratic government of the Fatherland Front came to power. The Government immediately set about the formation of a new army which took an active part in the defeat of Hitler's Germany.

In late September 1944 operations were undertaken to drive the Germans out of Yugoslavia and Hungary. Soviet troops launched offensives on the territory of these countries and together with the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia and People's Army of Bulgaria they liberated Belgrade, capital of Yugoslavia, on October 20.

At the same time the Red Army advanced far into the heart of Hungary and by the end of December 1944 had encircled a large German army group near Budapest. The Hungarian Communist Party, which stood at the head of the National Independence Front, began a campaign for the democratic transformation of the country and immediate withdrawal from the war on the side of Germany.

On December 28, 1944 the new Hungarian Government declared war on Germany and on January 25, 1945 signed a truce with the USSR, the United States and Britain in Moscow.

In the struggle for the liberation of Eastern, South-Eastern and Central Europe the Soviet Armed Forces suffered heavy losses. For the liberation of Czechoslovakia alone 140,000 Soviet soldiers laid down their lives.

The liberation mission of the Red Army gave a powerful boost to the massive upsurge of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Europe against the fascist invaders and their collaborators in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe. As a result of this struggle new forces came to power who represented the working class, the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia.

The Heroic Struggle of the Soviet People in the Enemy Rear in 1944-1945

Invaluable aid in the defeat of fascist Germany was given to the Red Army by the partisans and underground fighters who fought in the enemy rear under fascist terror. Reeling under the blows of the Red Army, the Hitlerites resorted to "burnt earth" tactics. During their period of occupation of part of the USSR the fascists murdered almost ten million Soviet civilians and prisoners of war and shipped more than five million to do hard labour in Germany. But neither the cruel repressions against the civilian population, nor the numerous punitive expeditions could stop the partisan and underground movement, in which more than a million men and women took part.

There was close cooperation between the partisans, underground fighters and the Red Army in the military operations around Leningrad and Novgorod, in the Ukraine west of the Dnieper and the Crimea, in Byelorussia, the Baltic states and Karelia. Suffice it to say that between March and April 1944 the Ukrainian partisans forced the German Command to take ten divisions away from the front to protect the railway junctions and stations. Just before the launching of the offensive in Byelorussia the partisans there conducted a massive operation on the railway lines, some of which were never repaired till the arrival of the Soviet troops. Towards the end of the war a number of partisan units organised raids deep into the enemy rear.

As the Red Army drew nearer to the Soviet borders many of the partisan units were restationed to fight alongside the patriots of Central and South-Eastern Europe against the enemy. Many Soviet patriots laid down their lives in the struggle to liberate the fraternal peoples from fascist tyranny. In fulfilling their internationalist duty the Soviet partisans together with the Red Army brought their great liberation mission to a victorious conclusion.

Soviet Citizens in the European Resistance Movement

The struggle waged by the Soviet people in the occupied countries of Europe and in Germany itself was exceptionally long and hard. These were either prisoners of war or civilians that had

been forcibly shipped to the West to work for the fascists or to languish and die at Dachau, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrück, Mauthausen, Auschwitz and other fascist death factories that have since become known to the whole world. Here they were starved, tortured, worked to death, hanged, shot, gassed in death chambers and burned in ovens. Millions of Soviet people became the victims of these monstrous fascist barbarities.

But none of these horrors could break the will of the Soviet people or shake their faith in their Motherland. Together with the patriots of other countries the Soviet people formed underground anti-fascist organisations, strengthened international friendship, organised escapes from the camps and carried out acts of sabotage and wrecking at the factories in Germany and the occupied countries that were working to supply the German army.

As early as autumn 1941 the first partisan groups from Soviet prisoners of war who had escaped from the fascist camps appeared in Poland. In the summer of the following year an underground organisation of Soviet prisoners of war was formed at Buchenwald and at the same time the first Soviet partisan groups sprung up in Slovakia.

The victories at Stalingrad and Kursk strengthened the forces of anti-fascists many times over and greatly promoted the Resistance movement in Europe, where Soviet citizens fought shoulder to shoulder with the patriots of other countries.

In late 1943-early 1944 Soviet partisan groups with such names as "Motherland", "Donbas", "Sevastopol", "For the Motherland", "Chapayev", "Kovpak" and "Maxim Gorky" operated in France. In May 1944 the French town of Nancy became the headquarters for Soviet partisan units. Soviet partisans took part in the liberation of Paris and many other towns and cities. For their heroism the French Government awarded a Soviet partisan battalion with the order Croix militaire avec etoile d'argent. 2,200 officers and men served in this battalion representing 37 of the nations and nationalities of the USSR.

In Italy three Soviet partisan detachments fought in the vicinity of Rome. In the north there were the "Russian Battalion" and the "Chapayev Battalion". One famous partisan who fought in the Italian "Oreste Brigade" and died heroically in battle was

a blacksmith from the Russian town of Ryazan Sergeant Fyodor Poletayev. He won the highest military award of the Italian Republic, the Medaglia d'oro al valor militare, and was posthumously made Hero of the Soviet Union.

Many Soviet partisan and underground groups fought in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Norway and other occupied countries.

A very hard struggle was waged by Soviet people in Germany itself and in the fascist death camps. They organised sabotage and wrecking and kept up anti-fascist propaganda among the captive workers from other countries. Soviet citizens and German anti-fascists worked together in such underground organisations as the "Anti-fascist Popular Front", the "Fraternal Community of Prisoners of War" and the "International Anti-fascist Committee".

The heroic feats of the two Soviet patriots Mussa Jalil, the poet, and General D. M. Karbyshev will live forever.

By participating in the Resistance and helping the patriots of many countries in their struggle against fascism, the Soviet people were also fighting for the victory of their own country. They had raised high the flag of international solidarity and many had given their lives to bring about the defeat of fascism.

The Soviet Rear in 1944-1945

At the vanguard of the multi-million strong army of working people that were working in the Soviet rear to bring about a rapid victory over the enemy was the country's heroic working class. A new contribution to the development of the All-Union socialist emulation drive was made by the workers of the Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk combines and the Urals tank and aircraft plants, which called upon the working class to overfulfill the state plans through raising the productivity of labour and sending workers thus freed to work at the restored enterprises.

The whole Soviet rear was under constant strain to provide continuous supplies of weapons, ammunition, uniform and food to the armed forces.

The eastern regions of the RSFSR played a considerable role in this. Forty per cent of the war industry's output, for example, came from the Urals.

The problem of supplying enough qualified workers for industry, building and transport was also now under control. Through a system of crash courses and training at work some 2.5 million young workers were trained during the war years. In all the number of industrial and office workers in the USSR rose to 28.3 million in 1945 as against 18.5 million in 1942.

With a smaller industrial capacity and a reduced base in strategic raw materials the Soviet Union still produced more military equipment than fascist Germany with a total output during the war of 137,000 aircraft, 104,000 tanks and self-propelled guns and 488,000 artillery pieces.

During the war the USSR was self-sufficient in military technology and armaments. The aid provided by the Allies played its part, but it amounted to no more than four per cent of the Soviet output.

During the final stage of the war the Soviet people not only had to build up the production of munitions and restore the industrial enterprises that had been damaged by the enemy, but also to make sure that by the end of the war the country was sufficiently strong economically to convert rapidly to peaceful construction.

From 1944 onwards greater attention was paid to the development of non-military machine-building. There was increased output of lathes, metallurgical equipment, turbines, boilers, electric motors, equipment for the coal and oil industry, tractors and agricultural machinery.

During the final stage of the war great success was achieved in the restoration of the economy in the areas liberated from the enemy occupation, where by the end of 1945 some 8,500 industrial enterprises had been restored.

By the end of the war despite the enormous losses and privations suffered by the country, the towns, villages, industry, transport and agriculture destroyed by the enemy were already beginning to be restored. In 1945 gross industrial output in the liberated regions was already 30 per cent of what it had been before the war in 1940.

By the end of the war gross industrial output for the USSR as a whole was almost the same as it had been before the war. True, in many of the important sectors of the economy such as metallurgy, coal, and oil the level was considerably lower.

To achieve success in the most important sectors of the economy meant reducing the production of consumer goods. In 1944 the production of the means of production had risen above the 1940 figure by 36 per cent, whereas the output of consumer goods had been reduced to 54 per cent of its pre-war level. During the war there had been particular reductions in the production of butter, sugar, fish products, cotton, silk and wool.

Despite the extremely hard conditions which existed for agriculture during the war the army and the civilian population were provided with the necessary minimum of food and industry with raw materials. This was only due to the enormous advantages of the socialist system. But the damage that was done to agriculture during the war was to have its effect for years to come.

Science and Culture

The Great Patriotic War was a severe test of all the intellectual and cultural strength of the Soviet people. Success in war was largely due to the fact that all the achievements of Soviet science and culture were put to the service of the country in its struggle against the invaders.

Soviet scientists, engineers and technicians working together with innovators perfected many technological processes and in certain fields actually revolutionised technology and the organisation of production.

Thus, prominent scientists like S. I. Vavilov and A. A. Lebedev working together with engineers produced new high-quality optical equipment for the Red Army. Chemists made important developments of the synthesis of metal-organic compounds. But probably the most prominent demonstration of the advances made by Soviet science was the research carried out on nuclear physics by a team of scientists under I. V. Kurchatov.

Important work was also done by geologists and chemists on essential minerals and metals for the war industry and for the

whole of the national economy. An important contribution to theoretical and applied mechanics was made by A. A. Mikulin and S. A. Khristianovich.

Soviet designers, technicians and inventors made many improvements to the construction of aircraft, tanks, guns and other military hardware and designed new types of armaments. By the end of the war the first Soviet jet planes had been built and important advances had been made in the building and designing of tanks. A. A. Morozov and Zh. Ya. Kotin designed tanks and self-propelled guns that were far superior to anything produced by the enemy. V. G. Grabin, F. F. Petrov and I. I. Ivanov developed whole new artillery systems, while V. A. Degtyarev, F. V. Tokarev, P. M. Goryunov and G. S. Shpagin made remarkable advances in the construction and design of automatic weapons.

Soviet doctors made important advances in the treating of wounds and developed new medicines. Approximately 75 per cent of all those wounded in the war fully recovered their health.

Despite the difficulties of wartime the Party and the Government did everything possible to promote the development of scientific research. During the war a number of new scientific institutions were formed. In 1943 the Academies of Sciences of Uzbekistan and Armenia were founded and the West Siberian branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR was opened. In 1945 the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan was set up and in 1943 and 1944 the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR and the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR were founded.

A very important contribution to the war effort was made by Soviet writers and artists. Soviet wartime literature reflected the grandeur and moral steadfastness of Soviet man, showed the superiority of Soviet ideology and encouraged feelings of patriotism and hatred of the fascist invaders.

Works like Sholokhov's *The Science of Hatred* and *They Fought for Their Country,* Alexei Tolstoy's *The Russian Character,* Tvardovsky's *Vasili Tyorkin,* Simonov's *Days and Nights* and Gorbatov's *The Unvanquished* presented remarkable images of the Soviet people and their devotion to their Motherland.

Of great importance in educating feelings of patriotism were the articles, stories, poems and essays of K. Fedin, F. Gladkov, I. Ehrenburg, Ya. Kupala, Ya. Kolas, P. Tychina, M. Bazhan, Dzambul Dzhabayev, S. Vurgun and S. Aini. So also were the songs and verses of A. Surkov, K. Simonov, M. Isakovsky and N. Tikhonov.

Soviet composers created a number of musical works that were full of patriotic fervour and inspired deep love for the Motherland. Most famous among these was, of course, Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony, which was devoted to the heroic defence of Leningrad.

New plays appeared upon the Soviet stage with the theatre of the national republics particularly enjoying great success. Actors and stage performers in continuance of the glorious traditions of the Civil War gave performances to the troops. Altogether half a million plays and concerts were put on for the men at the front by some 3,700 drama and theatrical groups.

Soviet painters and sculptors created many works illustrating the patriotism of the Soviet people in defence of their country and their readiness for any sacrifice in the name of victory. During the war propagandist art also became highly developed in such forms as the political poster, "TASS Windows", caricatures and graphics.

But the Soviet intelligentsia helped the victory not only through their creative powers. More than one thousand members of the Union of Soviet Writers (one-third of the organisation) and more than one hundred-and-fifty camera-men fought at the front or with the partisans or worked as war correspondents. Some 450 writers and more than 30 camera-men were killed in action.

In its constant concern for raising the ideological level of political propaganda work, the Party exercised continual guidance over the cultural and educational institutions and over those who fought on the ideological front. Of great importance for the patriotic education of the people was the publication of both individual works of Lenin and of new previously unpublished works on either the Civil War or on other military themes.

The education system suffered seriously during the war. Many schools had to do without the proper conditions for study, since

the school buildings themselves had frequently to be turned into hospitals or even munitions factories. In these difficult times the higher educational institutes were mostly evacuated to the east of the country. At the same time the intake of students dropped sharply, since most of the young people were at the front, in the military colleges or working at the factories.

But despite all these difficulties the Soviet state did everything in its power to ensure the best conditions possible under the circumstances for teaching children and training specialists.

On June 21, 1944 the Council of People's Commissars adopted a resolution entitled "On Improving the Quality of Education". On the basis of this resolution the first examinations were to be held in 1945 for a school-leaving certificate (at the secondary schools) and leaving examinations (at the primary and seven-year schools). For the best pupils in the tenth grade there were to be gold and silver medals.

As the fascist invaders were gradually driven out a proper education system was reinstituted in the formely occupied zones. Thus the intake of students became gradually larger.

The Final Stage of the War

By the beginning of 1945 the correlation of forces had changed even more in favour of the Soviet Union. The numerical strength of the German army engaged against the Red Army in January of that year was ten per cent less than it had been in January of the previous year.

With Finland, Romania and Bulgaria no longer on the fascist side and with the liberation of a number of West European countries, Germany not only had fewer allies, but fewer strategic raw materials, manpower and productive capacity. The military potential of the country had been severely weakened, but Germany was still a long way from being beaten.

The resistance offered by the fascist armies was stubborn. Hitler continued to look upon the USSR as his main opponent and concentrated his main forces on the Eastern Front.

Despite the comparatively small numerical strength of the Germans in the west, they nevertheless achieved some military

success against the Allies. In December 1944 an offensive was launched against the Western Front in the Ardennes which broke through the Anglo-American lines and forced them to retreat.

At the request of Britain and the United States the Soviet Supreme Command ordered the Red Army to begin its offensive on January 12, not January 20 as planned. This offensive was launched almost simultaneously along the whole 1,200 kilometre front from the Baltic Sea to the Carpathians.

The Soviet advance was powerful and rapid, breaking through the enemy defences on a broad front. It drew off many of the German forces from the Western Front and thereby helped the British and Americans to stop the Germans in the Ardennes.

On January 17 Soviet forces together with the 1st Polish Army liberated Warsaw. On February 13, 1945 after a month and a half of heavy fighting Budapest was liberated and by early April the whole of Hungary.

On April 4 Soviet forces liberated Bratislava, the main city in Slovakia and on April 13, Vienna, the capital of Austria.

The crushing blows inflicted by the Red Army forced the Germans to withdraw more troops from the Western Front. Thanks to the successful winter operations of the Soviet troops, the British and American forces in the west were able to recover from their defeat in the Ardennes, go over to the offensive, and, in view of the weak resistance of the enemy, advance into the heartland of Germany.

In the course of the 1944-1945 winter offensive the Red Army liberated Poland and a large part of Czechoslovakia and caused Hungary, Germany's only other ally in Europe, to withdraw from the war. Soviet troops had now reached the Oder-Neisse line and were preparing for a final advance on Berlin.

The Yalta Conference

At the height of the successful Soviet winter offensive a meeting was held between the heads of state of the three allied powers—the USSR, the United States and Great Britain—at Yalta in the Crimea from February 4 to 13, 1945. The main aim of the conference was to decide military and political issues arising from the forthcoming defeat of Germany and to consider the post-

war organisation of the world. The conference also finalised plans on further joint military action against Germany and an agreement was reached to cease hostilities only after the complete and unconditional surrender of Germany. The three powers pledged themselves to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to provide firm guarantees that Germany would never again be in a position to start another war. To this end it was planned to disarm and disband the Wehrmacht, break up the German General Staff once and for all, dismantle or take under control the German war industry and exact just punishment to all the war criminals. It was further decided to liquidate the Nazi Party and all fascist organisations and institutions.

The conference adopted a "Declaration on Liberated Europe", which envisaged cooperation between the powers in the democratic restructuring of Europe. To ensure peace and security it was decided to set up together with the other allied states a United Nations Organisation. Agreement was also reached on holding regular consultations between the ministers of foreign affairs of the three powers.

The Yalta Conference also discussed the entry of the Soviet Union into the war against Japan. In the interests of rapidly ending the Second World War the USSR stated its readiness to declare war upon Germany's ally, Japan, two to three months after the capitulation of Germany. A special conference resolution stipulated that after the defeat of Japan the Southern Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands would be returned to the USSR.

The agreements reached at the conference were a blow to the plans of the German imperialists and those reactionary circles in Britain and the United States who were out to conclude a separate peace with Germany behind the back of the USSR.

The Battle of Berlin. The Capitulation of Fascist Germany

In the second half of April and early May, 1945 the Red Army dealt a final crushing blow to fascist Germany. Together with units of the 1st and 2nd Polish Armies the Red Army launched an offensive against Berlin.

Meanwhile the German High Command, which had thrown all its forces against the advancing Red Army, was trying to find way to avert the catastrophe by holding talks with Britain and the United States on the conclusion of a separate peace. These attempts, however, came to nothing.

On the night of April 25 the Red Army completed the encirclement of Berlin, trapping the German forces that were there to defend the city. On the same day they advanced to the Elbe and in the region of Torgau met up with units of the 1st United States Army. For ten days heavy fighting took place on the streets of Berlin.

At dawn on April 30 Soviet troops now in possession of central Berlin began the storming of the Reichstag, which was defended by crack SS units heavily armed with guns, mortars and bazookas.

At 18.00 hours on April 30 Soviet soldiers stormed the Reichstag defences, but even inside the building they still met with fierce resistance. In one of the rooms the 1st Infantry Battalion of the 756th Regiment under Capt. S. A. Neustroyev had set up its command post. Two Sergeants from his battalion, M. A. Yegorov and M. V. Kantaria, were ordered to hoist the Soviet flag on the dome of the Reichstag, and early in the morning of May 1 the Banner of Victory was flying. On May 2 the Berlin garrison surrendered.

As a result of the Berlin operation a huge force numbering 70 infantry, 12 tank and 11 motorised divisions was completely defeated with some 480,000 officers and men being taken prisoner.

In the last days of the war the Red Army completed the liberation of Czechoslovakia. At the approach of Soviet forces in early May the population of the Czechoslovak capital, Prague, began an armed uprising against the fascist invaders. Heavy fighting took place on the streets of the city, for the fascists threw in considerable forces to crush the uprising. They were ready to go to any lengths to put down the Czechoslovak patriots. Though the insurrectionists were poorly armed and thoroughly exhausted in uneven combat, they would not give in, confident of the help that was coming from the Red Army.

Soviet tanks advanced headlong into Czechoslovakia and on May 9 liberated Prague. The German forces here, who numbered almost a million in all, were caught in a pincer movement and for the most part capitulated.

The defeat of the German armies in Czechoslovakia meant the complete destruction of the armed forces of fascist Germany.

On May 8, 1945 in Karlshorst, a Berlin suburb, representatives of the German High Command signed the act of unconditional surrender.

In accordance with the agreement between the governments of the USSR, Great Britain, the United States and France, the whole of Germany was occupied by the forces of these nations. Each power was accorded a definite zone of occupation and Berlin was divided into four sectors—Soviet, British, American and French.

On May 9, 1945 the Soviet people celebrated Victory Day over fascist Germany. On that day millions of Soviet people came out on the streets of the towns, cities and villages to congratulate each other with the long awaited victory. The triumphant celebrations became a powerful demonstration of the unity of the people, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

On June 24, 1945 a Victory Parade was held in Moscow. Soviet soldiers marched past the Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square, on the tribune of which stood the leaders of the Party and the Government. The soldiers carried their banners and ensigns which were now covered with immortal glory. At the foot of the Mausoleum hundreds of captured enemy standards were thrown.

In the name of the Motherland Moscow honoured the Soviet servicemen whose valour and courage had won a historical victory over fascist Germany. And on that day of great triumph all the peoples of the USSR honoured the memory of those who had fallen in battle for their Soviet Motherland.

The Potsdam Conference

From July 17 to August 2, 1945 a conference was held between the leaders of the three allied powers, the USSR, Great Britain and the United States, at Potsdam near Berlin.

The conference decided to set up a Council of Foreign Ministers, which would be given the task of preparing draft peace treaties for conclusion with Germany's former allies—Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. The Council was also directed by the conference to set down the conditions for a peace treaty with Germany, which would not permit any renaissance of German imperialism and which would ensure long and stable peace and security of the peoples.

Decisions were taken on the political and economic principles which should govern relations with Germany. The Allies pledged to accord the German people the possibility of effecting a reconstruction of their whole life on a democratic and peaceful basis. The Potsdam Conference established the general principles to be adopted in relation to the German economy. "In order to eliminate Germany's war potential," the Potsdam Declaration stated, "the production of arms, ammunition and implements of war as well as all types of aircraft and sea-going ships shall be prohibited and prevented."

In conformity with the decisions of the Yalta Conference the leaders of the three powers agreed at Potsdam on reparations from Germany for the damage done by the Nazis in many of the countries of Europe.

The Potsdam Conference passed a resolution transferring the city of Königsberg and the adjacent area to the Soviet Union.

The decisions passed at the Potsdam Conference were welcomed by the whole of progressive mankind as a programme document defining the democratic principles governing cooperation between the great powers and the post-war organisation of the world.

The Defeat of Imperialist Japan

After the defeat of Germany, Japan continued hostilities against the United States, Britain, Australia and other countries. With the aim of establishing domination in the East Asia Japan continued its aggressive war against China and other countries. These operations also threatened the security of the USSR and the Soviet Government could not therefore remain indifferent

to them. Japanese imperialists still had a million-strong Kwantung Army ranged along the Soviet border as well as troops from the puppet state of Manzhou Go.

During the Soviet Union's war against Germany the Japanese imperialists had also committed a number of hostile acts along the far eastern borders of the USSR, organising in effect a naval blockade of the Soviet Far East. Japanese imperialists were planning to use bacteriological warfare against the Soviet Union.

From 1941 to 1945 the USSR was forced to maintain 40 divisions on the Manchurian border.

On July 26, 1945 the United States, Britain and China demanded unconditional surrender from Japan, but the Japanese Government rejected this demand.

The Soviet Union acceded to the statement of the three governments and on August 8, 1945 in fulfillment of its duty as an ally, the USSR declared war on Japan. The intention of the Soviet Government in doing this was to bring the war to a speedy end, restore universal peace, prevent further sacrifices and sufferings, establish the rights of the Soviet Union to lands that had been annexed from Russia and guarantee the state interests of the Soviet Union and the security of its far eastern borders. The Mongolian People's Republic also joined the Soviet Union in declaring war on Japan.

On August 9, Soviet troops launched an offensive against the Japanese from the Primorye area, from Khabarovsk and from the Transbaikal region.

At the same time Mongolian troops also advanced, while the Pacific Fleet began operations along the Korean coast, Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. On the first day of the offensive the Japanese defence lines were broken and Soviet troops moved into Korea and Manchuria.

The crushing blow delivered by the Soviet forces simultaneously from three sides frustrated Japanese plans and led to the splitting and the ultimate defeat of the bulk of the Kwantung Army.

On August 23, 1945 Soviet forces entered the town of Dalny (Dairen) and Port Arthur. On August 28 South Sakhalin was liberated from the Japanese. During these battles the Pacific Fleet participated actively with commando units taking a number of ports in North Korea and liberating the Kuril Islands.

Thus, in the exceptionally difficult conditions of the Far East theatre of war the Red Army quickly defeated the million-strong Kwantung Army, forcing it to surrender, and freed Manchuria, South Sakhalin, the Kuril Islands and North Korea from the Japanese.

Japan conceded defeat on September 2, 1945 and her representatives signed the act of unconditional surrender. This marked the end of the Second World War.

The Historical Importance of the Victory of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War

The victory of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War showed to the world the colossal power which the Soviet socialist state had at its disposal. It was, of course, socialism, which had been built in the USSR during the thirties, that made the whole Soviet people into a united invincible power and that ensured their economic might and the force and valour of their armed forces. The war had demonstrated with exceptional clarity the foresight of the Communist Party in the planning for and effecting of the rapid industrialisation of the USSR, the collectivisation of agriculture and the cultural revolution. The fact that the Soviet people were able, by their heroic labour, to create in the briefest possible time the material and technical base of socialism demonstrated the advantages of the Soviet economic system and laid the foundations for the victory over fascism.

The Soviet social system had successfully stood the test of war and proved its complete vitality. It made it possible for the Communist Party to muster all the forces of the people for the defeat of the enemy. One of the most important sources for the strength of the Soviet people was the alliance between the workers and the peasants, which immeasurably consolidated as a result of the victory of socialism. During the war the workers, peasants, scientists and cultural workers had selflessly toiled for the sake of the front. This heroic labour that was carried on in the rear has gone down in the history of the Great Patriotic War as an exemplary feat of labour heroism.

Another important source of the USSR's victory was the un-

breakable friendship between the peoples of the USSR, that had been tempered and strengthened in the fight against the fascist invaders. The Soviet multinational state had honourably withstood the bitter trials of war.

The Second World War had shown the complete victory of the Marxist-Leninist ideology of proletarian internationalism, national equality, peace and friendship over the reactionary fascist ideology of nationalism and racial hatred.

Tempered in the heat of battle the Red Army had proved itself to be second to none both in respect of its military prowess and its moral and political qualities. It was an army that was possessed of the most advanced science and art of war and the personnel of its arms and services displayed a high degree of military skill, endurance, courage, bravery and mass heroism.

The strength of the Red Army was due as much as anything else to the fact that it could rely on a firm and stable rear. The unity between the front and the rear and between the army and the people was a decisive factor in the victory.

The war also brought out the full strength of Soviet patriotism as a powerful force behind the people and their army. Millions of Soviet patriots performed unparalleled acts of bravery at the front and in the rear. All in all more than seven million Soviet soldiers, sailors, officers, generals and admirals were awarded decorations for bravery and heroism in the field. Of the 11,600 Soviet servicemen who were awarded the title "Hero of the Soviet Union", 104 gained the title twice and G. K. Zhukov, I. N. Kozhedub and A. I. Pokryshkin thrice. For their outstanding contribution to the defeat of the fascist invaders the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Odessa, Sevastopol, Stalingrad, Novorossiisk, Kerch and Tula were made "Hero-Cities" and Brest was awarded the title "Hero Fortress".

Another fine example of Soviet patriotism was the courageous struggle of the Soviet partisans in the enemy rear.

The victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War was achieved by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party and its Central Committee and came as the result of their enormous efforts and heroism.

During the war the Soviet people came to understand even more clearly that the Communist Party in the words of Lenin

was the "intelligence, honour and conscience of our times". For this reason thousands of Soviet soldiers in going into battle requested to be admitted into the ranks of the Party. And in the darkest days of the war this influx was greater than ever. Altogether during the war over five million persons were made candidate members of the Party and some 3.5 million were made full Party members.

The Communist Party educated and promoted to positions of responsibility in both the Army and the Navy such outstanding officers as I. Kh. Bagramyan, S. S. Biryuzov, S. M. Budyonny, I. D. Chernyakhovsky, V. I. Chuikov, L. A. Govorov, A. A. Grechko, I. S. Konev, R. Ya. Malinovsky, K. A. Meretskov, K. S. Moskalenko, F. S. Oktyabrsky, I. Ye. Petrov, K. K. Rokossovsky, P. S. Rybalko, B. M. Shaposhnikov, V. D. Sokolovsky, S. K. Timoshenko, F. I. Tolbukhin, A. M. Vasilevsky, N. F. Vatutin, N. N. Voronov, K. Ye. Voroshilov, A. I. Yeremenko, M. V. Zakharov, G. K. Zhukov and many others.

The victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War was an event of world-historical importance. The Soviet people had defended the integrity and national independence of their country and protected the great gains of socialism.

By its victory the USSR had strengthened the security of its borders in the west and the east, and had thereby ensured more favourable conditions for peaceful socialist construction. All the lands that belonged historically to the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Moldavia were finally brought together and all their peoples reunited into a single family. The Lithuanian people regained the Klaipeda region which had been annexed by the German imperialists. The USSR gained the ice-free port of Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) and the regions surrounding it. The border with Finland was redrawn according to the Soviet-Finnish treaty of 1940. The old Russian province of Pechenga and the ice-free port of Pechenga (Petsamo) were returned to the Soviet Union. In the Far East the Kuril Islands and South Sakhalin were also returned to the Soviet Union. And finally the security of the Soviet borders in both the west and the east was now stronger than at any time previously.

But the Soviet people not only defended their own country, they played a decisive role in ridding Europe of fascist enslave-

ment and saving the whole world from the threat of fascism. They gave enormous help to the peoples of Asia in their struggle against Japanese imperialism. Thus the Red Army fulfilled with honour its mission of liberation.

More than one million Soviet people gave their lives for the liberation of Europe from the yoke of fascism.

The historical importance of the Soviet victory consists in the fact that it seriously weakened the crack forces of imperialist reaction. The defeat of fascist Germany and imperialist Japan was in the final analysis a serious blow to imperialism as a whole. The victory of the Soviet people was of immense significance both for the subsequent building of communism in the USSR and for the post-war organisation of the world and the struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, democracy and socialism.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE RESTORATION AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY IN THE POST-WAR YEARS (1945-1960)

1. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE USSR

Changes in the Alignment of Forces in the International Arena After the Second World War. The Formation of the Socialist System

At the end of the Second World War the international situation radically altered in favour of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. The defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism created favourable conditions for the overthrow of capitalism in a number of European and Asian countries.

In Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia the fascist and anti-popular regimes were overthrown by the people under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' Parties. Power now passed into the hands of the people, who effected radical socio-economic transformations and established people's democracies in their countries. Taking advantage of the situation created as a result of the historical victory of the Soviet army and relying on the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union, these peoples set about the building of socialism.

The policy of democratisation, demilitarisation and denazification that was pursued by the USSR in its zone of occupation promoted the development of democratic forces among the German people. The formation in October 1949 of the German Democratic Republic was an important event in the life of the German people.

As a result of the defeat of German and Japanese imperialism the working people in a number of the colonial and dependent countries of Asia were also able to establish popular power. Thus in China the people's revolution was victorious and on October 1, 1949 the People's Republic of China was proclaimed. In September 1945 the former French colony of Indochina was proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and in September 1948 North Korea, which had been liberated from the Japanese, was declared the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

Thus, over the whole land mass from Central Europe to South-East Asia the domination of the capitalists and landowners had been abolished forever. Now in addition to the Soviet Union there were the people's democratic states, which were another form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

An important characteristic of the post-war period was the fact that socialism had now become a world system. Whereas World War I had sharply aggravated the position of the popular masses and brought about a powerful upsurge of the world revolutionary movement, accelerating a socialist revolution in Russia which thus made a first breach in the imperialist chain, the Second World War and the defeat of fascism and the weakening of world capitalism's positions resulted in a whole number of countries in Central and South-East Europe and in Asia also being torn away from the imperialist system and in the beginning of the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism.

The economic and cultural development of the new socialist countries was rapid. Already by 1950 the pre-war level of industrial output in the European socialist countries had been significantly surpassed.

A new and higher form of inter-state relations based on the principles of socialist internationalism had developed between the socialist countries. These relations provided for all-round fraternal cooperation, extensive mutual aid and joint coordinated action in the struggle for peace and socialism and in the fight against imperialism and imperialist policies.

The existence of two world systems—socialism and capitalism—now became the basis for world development. The socialist-community countries' share in world industrial output began to rise noticeably. At that time the development rates of the socialist

economies were considerably higher than those in the capitalist states, while the defence capabilities of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were immeasurably greater.

Of enormous significance for strengthening the socialist economies was their direct cooperation and the coordination between the various state plans for national economic development. The international prestige of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states rose even further. All of this attested to the increased strength of the socialist system and its successful development.

At the same time the contradictions within individual capitalist countries and between them continued to aggravate.

The change in the correlation of forces in the international arena also created favourable conditions for the rise of the national liberation struggle among the oppressed peoples. During the very first post-war years many other states in Asia gained national independence in addition to the people's democracies. Thus, the long struggle of the Indonesian people for freedom was finally victorious in August 1945 when the Republic of Indonesia came into being. In August 1947 Britain was forced to recognise the independence of India and Pakistan and in early 1948 of Burma and Ceylon.

In Africa and Latin America too the national liberation movement began to make itself felt. And all over the world the struggle of the colonial and dependent countries for national independence led to the rapid disintegration of the imperialist colonial system.

During the Second World War there had been much cooperation between the states that formed the anti-fascist coalition, even though they belonged to different social systems. But soon after the end of the war the policies of the United States, Britain and France began to come increasingly under the influence of reactionary, militarist circles, that were out to foist their will upon other countries through the exertion of economic and political pressure. In this way the "position of strength" policy, as it was called, began to dominate the foreign policies of the Western powers.

While the USSR was trying to solve the international problems that faced the world after the war on a democratic basis and working to strengthen peace and create the conditions in

which another war would be impossible, aggressive circles in the imperialist countries, particularly the United States, were formulating aggressive plans against the USSR and the other socialist countries, launching a so-called cold war against them and trying to put down the democratic and national liberation movements around the world. The desire of aggressive circles in the United States to achieve world domination was openly stated by President Truman, who declared in 1945 that "the victory which we have won has placed upon the American people the continuing burden of responsibility for world leadership".

The Struggle of the USSR to Conclude Peace Treaties on a Democratic Basis

The fundamental difference in the foreign policies of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, on the one hand, and the capitalist countries on the other began to be noticeable immediately after the end of the war.

The Soviet Union did all in its power to achieve a lasting democratic peace in the post-war period that would consolidate the victory over fascism and eliminate the threat of another war. This difference between the two policies appeared particularly in the drawing up of the peace treaties with Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. The draft treaties with these countries were examined at a conference of representatives of 21 states, which was held between July and October 1946 in Paris. The peace treaties proposed by the Western powers during this conference were so designed as to permit their permanent intervention into the economic and political life of the above-mentioned countries. The Soviet Union resolutely rejected any demands made on these states which were not compatible with their sovereignty. After heated discussion the overwhelming majority of articles in the draft peace treaties were approved by the conference and in February 1947 peace treaties were signed in Paris with Italy, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland.

But the situation was quite different when it came to the solution of the German question. During the first months after the war joint decisions were taken by the former allies on political,

economic and administrative matters relating to the whole of Germany. But even then it was becoming more and more apparent that the Western powers strove to divide Germany and torpedo the agreements reached at Yalta and Potsdam on the German question.

The Soviet Union worked consistently for the denazification, the democratisation and the demilitarisation of Germany, for the formation of a single, democratic and peace-loving German state and for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. However, through the opposition of the Western powers this was unfortunately not attained. The latter were, in essence, helping to rebuild a war industry in West Germany. In December 1946 the United States and Britain concluded an agreement on amalgamating the American and British zones of occupation and soon afterwards they were joined by France. This was the first step on the road to the division of Germany.

The Soviet Union sought to conclude a just peace with Japan and came out in support of the country's independence. But the United States which had occupied Japan militarily and Britain opposed this, for they were intent on concluding separate treaties with the country.

The Formation of Anti-Soviet Military Blocs. The Open Acts of Aggression by US Imperialism

The United States and the other imperialist countries continued to pursue their aggressive "position of strength" policy. This policy was expressed in the arms race, in the setting up of military bases along the Soviet border and the borders of the other socialist countries, in the formation of aggressive military blocs, in discrimination against the USSR in international trade and in crude attempts at intervention into the internal affairs of the socialist countries. In the summer of 1947 the United States put forward the Marshall Plan, as it was called, which was intended to create a military and political bloc from a number of West European countries with the participation of the United States. In April 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington between the United States, Britain, France, Bel-

gium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Canada, Italy, Portugal, Norway, Denmark and Iceland.[1] This was the official formation of an imperialist aggressive bloc headed by the United States. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) was set up not only to oppose the USSR and the other socialist countries, but also the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries as well as all the democratic forces in the capitalist world.

An important role in the aggressive plans of the Western powers was accorded to West Germany, where in September 1949 a separate West German state was formed to be known as the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and in which reactionary and revanchist circles were rife.

A year later at a conference of the ministers of foreign affairs of the United States, Britain and France in New York plans were drawn up for the remilitarisation of West Germany and the recreation of its army. This aroused protest from democratic public opinion the world over. The ministers of foreign affairs of the European socialist countries met in Prague in October 1950 to express their resolute opposition to the remilitarisation of West Germany. They demanded the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, the reunification of the German state and the withdrawal of the occupation forces. This proposal, however, was turned down by the Western powers.

In the summer of 1950 the US began direct acts of aggression. Supporting the puppet government of South Korea they began a war in June 1950 against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and simultaneously occupied the nearby island of Taiwan, which belonged to the People's Republic of China.

In the same month the United States succeeded in getting through the UN Security Council resolution recommending UN member-states to send troops to Korea. Thus the UN flag was used as a cover for US aggression, aggression which aroused the indignation and protest of democratic forces throughout the world. The Soviet Union and a number of other countries demanded the immediate end to hostilities in Korea and the withdrawal of foreign troops.

[1] Subsequently, Turkey and Greece joined the pact in 1952 and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1955.

In October 1954 as a result of the signing of the Paris agreements, which were essentially an attempt to legalise the remilitarisation of West Germany, the Western European Union was formed, which included Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. In September 1954 the South-East Asian military and political bloc known as SEATO was also formed. It included the United States, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines.

In 1955 another aggressive group of states was formed together by Britain through the signing of the Baghdad Pact. Besides Britain it included Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan and Iran. (In 1958 Iraq withdrew from the pact.) Similar blocs were created in other parts of the world.

All these aggressive blocs were directed against the socialist countries and the national liberation movement in the countries of South-East Asia and the Middle East.

Crisis of the "Position of Strength" Policy

The "position of strength" policy had not produced for its architects the desired results. In Korea particularly it was shown to have collapsed. The war unleashed by the United States brought that country no victory despite all its enormous use of military hardware. The invasion of the North was driven back with the Americans finally retreating to the 38th parallel (the line of demarcation between the Korean People's Democratic Republic and South Korea). On July 27, 1953 the United States was forced to sign a truce at Panmunjóm.

The Soviet Union, however, in constant pursuit of its peace policy, achieved in the mid-fifties a number of important successes, which resulted in a certain relaxation in international tension. Between April and July 1954 at the initiative of the USSR a conference of the ministers of foreign affairs of the USSR, the United States, Britain and France attended also by representatives of some other countries was held in Geneva. The conference discussed Korea and Indochina and as a result agreements were signed that were designed to solve the most important issues

facing Indochina, i.e., the restoration and consolidation of peace in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

In the summer of 1955 relations were normalised between the USSR and Yugoslavia.

In June 1955 Prime Minister Nehru of India visited the Soviet Union and on June 22 a joint Soviet-Indian declaration was signed which showed that India and the Soviet Union were ready to develop and strengthen friendly relations.

Under the pressure of democratic public opinion the Western powers were forced to agree to the convocation of a conference between the heads of governments of the USSR, Britain, the United States and France. The conference, which took place in July 1955 in Geneva, discussed the German question as well as disarmament, European security and the development of contacts between East and West.

But at the Geneva Conference of October-November 1955 between the ministers of foreign affairs of the four powers the representatives of the Western powers violated the directives which had been agreed upon at the previous conference of heads of state with the result that no agreed decisions were reached on any of the questions under discussion.

In pursuit of its consistent policy of relaxing international tension the Soviet Government established diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany in September 1955, took the initiative in proposing for UN membership 16 new countries in December 1955 and took a number of measures designed to improve relations with different countries. One important factor in guaranteeing peace in Europe was the signing of the state treaty with Austria in May 1955, according to which the position of Austria was established as a neutral country.

The USSR further developed its friendly relations and cooperation with India, Burma and Afghanistan, largely as a result of the visits made to these countries by a Soviet delegation in November-December 1955.

The Soviet Union continued in its struggle to strengthen peace, achieve arms reduction and ban nuclear weapons.

A clear expression of the peace-loving policy of the Soviet state was the Law on the Defence of Peace which was adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on March 12, 1951. The law

declared that the propaganda of war was a grave crime against humanity.

The Soviet Government made a practical demonstration of its peace policy on May 10, 1955 when it proposed the conclusion of an international convention on arms reduction and the banning of nuclear weapons and suggested the establishment of appropriate forms of international control. The Soviet proposals outlined concrete means to eliminate the threat of war and guarantee lasting peace and security. But the Western powers would not accept them, despite the support which they received among public opinion all over the world.

On the initiative of the United States restrictions were introduced in 1947 limiting trade between the West, on the one hand, and the USSR and the other socialist countries on the other. The purpose of these restrictions was to aggravate the economic difficulties in the socialist countries. But this policy of discrimination brought its adherents no advantages. Furthermore, the capitalist states thus deprived themselves of advantageous markets, which only had a negative effect on their economics. Meanwhile the socialist countries expanded economic ties between themselves and continued to grow economically stronger.

As a result of the coming into force of the 1954 Paris agreements and the remilitarisation of West Germany, the European socialist-community countries held a second conference on peace and security in Europe in Warsaw in May 1955. To ensure their own security and in the interests of maintaining peace in Europe the states participating in the Warsaw Conference concluded a Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance (the Warsaw Treaty) and decided to set up a joint Command of the Armed Forces.

In Autumn 1956 Britain, France and Israel invaded Egypt. Their intentions were to use force of arms to restore the old colonial regime.

This military adventure against Egypt brought the world to the brink of a new world war. It was at this dangerous moment that the Soviet Government issued a declaration demanding that Britain, France and Israel immediately cease intervention and withdraw their troops from Egyptian territory. The Soviet Government declared that it would take all necessary steps to stop

the armed aggression in the Suez Canal Zone. This bold and decisive action on the part of the Soviet Union was supported by the socialist states and all peace-loving forces throughout the world. The Soviet position forced the warmongers in Britain, France and Israel to cease their aggression and withdraw their troops from Egyptian soil.

It was while the aggression against Egypt was still going on that reactionary circles in the Western imperialist powers, who had been conducting various forms of subversive activity against the socialist states as part of their state policy, organised a counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary (October-November 1956). But this attempt too proved abortive. The Hungarian working class and Soviet troops, who entered the country at the request of the Hungarian Government to defend Hungary's socialist gains, defeated the counter-revolutionary forces and prevented the re-establishment of a fascist dictatorship there. At the same time they stamped out a potential hotbed of war right in the heart of Europe.

In extending helping hand to the working people of Hungary the Soviet Union performed the highest act of proletarian solidarity and thereby fulfilled its sacred internationalist duty to a fraternal country.

Of great importance in frustrating the plans of the imperialist states that were trying to wrest Hungary from the socialist community was the "Declaration of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Bases of Development and the Further Strengthening of Friendship and Cooperation Between the Soviet Union and the Other Socialist States", which was published on October 30, 1956. The declaration stressed that the Soviet Union was firmly guided in its relations with the other socialist states by the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism and was striving to strengthen friendship and fraternal cooperation between the socialist countries.

After the Western powers led by the United States had effected their policy of splitting Germany, the Soviet Government introduced a number of proposals on the German question that were based upon the realities of the present situation, that is to say the existence of two German states. The Soviet Union proposed that all the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition, on

the one hand, and the two German states, the GDR and the FRG on the other, should conclude a peace treaty which would be in the interests of all sides.

However, the negotiations that the Soviet Union conducted with the Western powers at the time brought no positive results.

The USSR's Struggle to Achieve Arms Reduction and Ban Nuclear Weapons. The Peace Movement

The Soviet Union made frequent proposals to the United Nations Organisation for universal arms reduction and the banning of the use of nuclear power for military purposes. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries represented at the UN in 1946 had succeeded in December of that year in passing a resolution on the principles governing the universal control and reduction of armaments and armed forces and in November 1947, a resolution which condemned the propaganda of war. But the practical implementation of these resolutions was frustrated by the actions of the Western powers.

Nevertheless, the USSR continued its persistent struggle for arms reduction and the banning of nuclear weapons. The Soviet delegation to the UN made a number of proposals including the one on conclusion of a pact between the USSR, the United States, China, Britain and France to strengthen peace.

The policy of peace and friendship pursued by the Soviet Union met with the active support of broad sections of the public in many countries, while at the same time the aggressive policies of the United States and those countries allied to it by military and political pacts met with increasing opposition as time went by.

There gradually developed a mass movement in defence of peace. It embraced hundreds of millions of people of different political views and convictions, but all of whom were governed by the one desire to do everything to defend peace which had been won at such a great cost to the mankind.

The peace movement was aided by the formation after the war of such mass democratic international organisations as the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International

Democratic Federation and the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The various congresses that were held soon after the war, which included the World Congress for Peace, Wroclaw, the World Congress of Women's International Democratic Federation (Budapest, 1948), and the World Congress for Peace (Paris and Prague, April 1949) were of great importance for the development of the peace movement. The Stockholm Session of the Standing Committee of the World Congress of Defenders of Peace (March 1950) passed a decision to collect signatures of those supporting the banning of nuclear weapons. The total collected ran into hundreds of millions.

The formation and development of the peace movement was an important factor in the struggle against the aggressive plans of the imperialists.

Also of great importance was the consistent struggle of the USSR for disarmament. In spring 1957 the USSR proposed at the UN that at least partial steps should be taken in the direction of disarmament. This proposal was rejected by the Western powers. From 1955 to 1958 the USSR unilaterally reduced its armed forces by 2,140,000. In 1958 the Soviet Union unilaterally ceased the testing of nuclear weapons, a step which was welcomed by all peace-loving peoples.

In insistently trying to reach agreement with the Western powers on disarmament the Soviet Government was guided by its firm belief that it was necessary to exclude the possibility of another world war and guarantee the security of nations.

The economic and military might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist-community countries and their consistent pursuit of a policy of peace, based on the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, became a reliable support for national independence.

2. THE STRUGGLE TO COMPLETE THE FOURTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Transition to Peaceful Construction

After the victorious end of the Great Patriotic War the Soviet Union resumed the peaceful strengthening and development of socialism.

By the spring of 1945 work had begun on restructuring the national economy to suit the needs of peacetime. One of the first steps taken to this end was the demobilisation of a large part of the Soviet Armed Forces.

In late 1944 while the war was still on the Soviet Union had begun the repatriation and return of Soviet citizens shipped to Germany by the fascist invaders. By the end of 1945 more than five million had been returned.

In conformity with the tasks of peaceful development the work of the state and economic bodies had also to be restructured. Martial law which had been introduced at the beginning of the war was revoked on September 4, 1945. The State Defence Committee was disbanded and all administrative functions were once more concentrated in the hands of the Council of People's Commissars. A similar process of restructuring took place among the people's commissariats, directorates and departments that had been set up during the war.

Restructuring affected all spheres of the national economy. A complex period had set in of converting a war time economy to peaceful needs. A different system of proportioning was now needed. Material and financial resources and manpower had to be redistributed among the various sectors of the economy and economic regions of the country. The main emphasis was put on the restoration and development of the leading branches of the peace-time economy.

The end of the war saw the re-establishment of the eight-hour working day, the reintroduction of holidays and the abolition of overtime. Enterprises in various economic sectors ceased the production of military equipment and were converted back to producing the lathes, equipment and machinery necessary for restoring the national economy. The light, food and textile industries now began to change and expand the variety of their goods. In the transport industry emphasis now went on to civil transport. More resources became available for scientific, cultural and educational institutions.

These changes also occurred in the countryside. The demobilised soldiers returned to the collective and state farms and to the machine and tractor stations. In 1945 the Soviet Government increased its subsidies for the restoration of agriculture.

The war had prevented the holding of elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet with the result that those deputies elected in 1937 had remained in office for eight years. Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of the second convocation were therefore held on February 10, 1946.

From March 12 to 18, 1946 the first session of the Supreme Soviet was held. At this session the leading organs of the Supreme Soviet were elected and a law passed on transforming the people's commissariats into ministries and the Council of People's Commissars into the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

The session of the Supreme Soviet reviewed and affirmed the five-year plan for national economic rehabilitation and development for the years 1946-1950. The main economic and political tasks of the plan consisted in "restoring the regions that had suffered damage, regaining the pre-war level of industrial and agricultural output and subsequently surpassing this level on a considerable scale".

The war and the Nazi occupation of part of the Soviet territory had done enormous damage to the Soviet Union. More than 20 million Soviet citizens had died either at the front or through fascist brutality in captivity. There were 5.4 million industrial and office workers fewer than in 1940. Many collective farmers had died on the field of battle so that by 1946 there were 29 per cent fewer able-bodied workers of the farms than in 1940.

The material losses suffered by the USSR from direct destruction of property by the occupying forces amounted to a colossal 679 billion roubles (in pre-war prices)[1].

The task of restoring the economy after all the destruction caused by the war was difficult and complex in the extreme. The fascist invaders had completely or partially destroyed or burned 1,710 towns and workers' settlements and more than 70,000 villages. Some 32,000 industrial enterprises, 65,000 kilometres of

[1] Furthermore, there were also the expenses incurred in conducting the war and putting the economy on a war footing as well as the losses resulting from the fact that enormous areas were under enemy occupation and therefore not providing the country with the material resources they otherwise would have been. Thus the overall material losses suffered by the USSR were nearer to 2,600 billion roubles.

railway track and more than 4,000 railway stations were also destroyed.

The country's agriculture suffered exceptionally great losses. The fascist invaders plundered 98,000 collective farms, 1,876 state farms and 2,890 machine and tractor stations. Some 17 million head of cattle and tens of millions of pigs, sheep and goats were slaughtered or shipped to Germany. In thousands of villages the people were crowded into dugouts and huts. There were no workers, no draught animals and no equipment to plough the fields. Often cows were used as draught animals and fields were ploughed and sown by hand.

Large arable tracts of land were covered with trenches, dugouts and craters and littered with the remnants of battle. In terms of technological equipment the war had put agriculture back to the level of the thirties. The sowing areas shrank by 25 per cent. Grain and industrial crops' harvests were reduced. Livestock rearing suffered enormously. In 1945 gross agricultural production was only 60 per cent of the pre-war level.

In industry there was an acute shortage of skilled labour. The equipment in many of the factories was worn out. Since everything during the war had gone into the development of military production the Soviet state had been forced to cut back the manufacture of consumer goods. In 1945 the production of consumer goods was only 59 per cent of what it had been before the war.

The Soviet people began their mammoth task of restoration before hostilities had actually ended, as one region after another was liberated. But these were only the first steps. The real restoration work on the economy, housing and in the sphere of culture could only begin in earnest after the war had ended completely.

The fourth five-year plan was an important stage towards the revival of the economic, political and intellectual resources of socialist society after the war. With renewed strength and energy the Soviet people worked to further all aspects of economic and cultural development.

By late 1946 the restructuring of industry was in the main completed and from 1947 onwards there was a continued growth in the output of all branches of industry.

The restructuring of industry played a decisive role in converting the whole economy to the needs of peacetime. One important step towards this was the monetary reform which was introduced in late 1947 to strengthen the country's finances and raise the purchasing power of the rouble. According to the reform ten roubles cash in old money would be the equivalent of one rouble cash in new money. For money held in savings and state bank accounts the exchange rates were more advantageous, while wages, revenues from state procurement and other forms of earned income were paid in the new money at the same rate as the old.

The Struggle to Boost Industry

The primary task of the fourth five-year plan was the restoration of the national economy in those regions of the country which had been occupied during the war.

Here factories, plants, power stations, municipal services and cultural establishments had to be restored. This work took considerable capital investment and material and technological resources. Building was carried out here on a truly massive scale with hundreds of thousands of workers, engineers and technicians and enormous amounts of equipment and building materials being sent from all over the country. To supplement the work force voluntary youth brigades laboured at the building sites.

In many sectors the restoration work on those enterprises that had been most badly damaged developed into the building of completely new enterprises. Everywhere capital construction was carried out on the basis of technological progress and the introduction of new types of equipment. Fast flow methods and conveyor belt production were widely in use as well as large block building, steel welding and other advanced techniques that saved time and economised on metal, materials and manpower.

Renovation work in the Donbas went particularly well. The mines were pumped and again made reusable and on the initiative of two miners, Gerasim Zaporozhets and Luka Golokolosov, a mass movement started to rationalise the use of coal cutters. The

result was that by the end of the five-year plan the Donbas was producing more coal than before the war.

While the war had still been going on, the restoration work was started on the Dneproges and other power stations damaged by the enemy. In 1950 the areas that had suffered under the occupation were producing more electrical energy than in 1940.

Enormous renovation work had to be done to the machine-building plants in Leningrad, Rostov-on-Don, Kiev, Kharkov, Voroshilovgrad, Kramatorsk, Minsk, Riga, Tallinn and other industrial centres. Enormous large-scale enterprises in the light and food industries arose like Phoenixes from the ruins.

By the end of the fourth five-year plan the regions that had been devastated by the enemy were once again occupying an important place in the country's economy.

But though they concentrated their main efforts on the restoration of industry in the formerly occupied territories, the Soviet people did not relax their efforts to develop the productive forces of the central, eastern and other regions of the country which became a reliable base for the restoration of the national economy as a whole.

In the Urals, the Kuzbas and Kazakhstan technological improvements were made to increase the output of the coal and oil industry. At the same time the coalfields near Moscow and in the Pechora area were extensively developed and the oil industry grew in Bashkiria, Tataria, Uzbekistan and Turkmenia.

Also the first oil-well was opened at Neftyaniye Kamny in the Caspian Sea.

The machine-building industry also developed rapidly. Instead of tanks, planes, guns and shells the conveyor belts began to turn out streams of lathes, motors, turbines, oil rigs, tractors, cars and all sorts of other equipment. At the Uralmash Combine the first walking excavator was built. Enormous gas pipelines were constructed running from Saratov to Moscow, Kokhtla-Jarve to Leningrad and Dashava to Kiev.

The working class spared no effort to restore and develop industry. On May 15, 1946 a group from the Kirov Metallurgical Factory at Makeyevka appealed to all the workers in the iron

and steel industry to organise an all-Union socialist emulation to fulfill and overfulfill the fourth five-year plan. This appeal was taken up by the working class of the whole country.

Everywhere competitions began between individual workers, between shop floors and between enterprises. All the initiative of the workers, the engineers and the technicians was directed to maximising internal reserves (raw materials, building materials and machinery) and increasing labour productivity.

From this mass upsurge of labour initiative came all sorts of new ideas for improving production. And most prolific in this respect were the workers of Moscow. In February 1948 work collectives of nine enterprises in the capital launched a campaign for profitability of labour, announcing at the same time their refusal to accept state subsidies.

Many of the innovations were of great importance to the national economy like those of P. Bykov and G. Bortkevitch, two turners whose improvements made new advances in speed metal cutting. Then there was V. Khrisanova, a team leader at the Moscow electrical lamp factory, whose system of drawing up hourly schedules was adopted in many sectors of the national economy, since it ensured higher productivity of labour and the fulfillment of other qualitative indicators on the plan. An idea from deputy foreman Alexander Chutkikh at the Krasnokholmsk Textile Combine sparked off the "excellent brigades" drive. Chutkikh's own brigade achieved extremely high results turning out 99.5 per cent first-class fabric and thereby considerably overfulfilling their planned norm. The competition he initiated for the title "excellent brigade" was taken up by workers in other enterprises all over the country.

By 1948 more than two thousand enterprises had fulfilled their five-year plans ahead of time. Already in 1947 industrial production had reached 93 per cent of the pre-war level and by 1948 had surpassed it by 18 per cent.

In 1950 F. Kovalev, an engineer at the Proletarskaya Pobeda Factory, began to teach the workers some of the latest developments that had been made in rationalising the individual operations that they carried out daily. As a result labour productivity in the factory increased and his methods were quickly adopted in all other industries.

By the end of the five-year plan more than 90 per cent of the workers were participating in socialist emulation.

The efficiency of the socialist emulation drive can be judged by the fact that in 1949 alone the effort to make economies in industry resulted in producing more than 20 billion roubles worth of goods above the plan.

The whole implementation of the five-year plan was organised by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, who directed the work of the economic bodies.

Party and trade-union organisations improved the forms of socialist emulation. From 1947 onwards they included the conclusion of collective agreements with the administration. In 1949 and 1950 a total of some two million suggestions were made for the improvement of production and labour conditions by workers, engineers and technicians. The role of the production conferences also began to increase.

During the fourth five-year plan period the ties between the scientists and the men on the shop floor strengthened and expanded. Together with the workers in the factories many research and higher educational institutes made new technological advances, invented new types of machinery and introduced scientific and technological developments into production.

Considerable attention was devoted to the task of fulfilling the five-year plan ahead of time and to the role of the trade unions in promoting socialist emulation at the Tenth Congress of Trade Unions which was held in April 1949.

A prominent role in the struggle to restore and develop the national economy was played by Soviet youth. At the 11th Komsomol Congress in 1949 it was noted that 750,000 young workers had fulfilled their five-year plans ahead of time.

During the first years of the fourth five-year plan the ranks of the working class were restored and replenished with new workers.

In 1950 there were 15.3 million industrial and office workers as against 13.1 million in 1940 and 10.7 million in 1945. The productivity of labour among industrial workers was 37 per cent higher in 1950 than it had been in 1940.

The first year after the war was particularly difficult for agriculture. The drought of 1946 which affected the Ukraine, Moldavia, the Lower Volga and the Northern Caucasus and the central black-soil area was a severe handicap to work in the collective and state farms. Large quantities of seed, fodder and food supplies were therefore sent by the state to these regions.

Under these difficult conditions and with an acute shortage of machinery, tools and manpower the agricultural workers worked selflessly to get high yields of all crops.

The aftermath of the war had a serious effect on the restoration of agricultural production. Having concentrated its main resources on the restoration of industry, the country had insufficient left for the needs of agricultural development, expenses on which accounted for 16 per cent of the overall subsidies to the national economy.

During the war there were inevitable violations of the Collective Farm Rules. In those conditions the CPSU(B) Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars gave temporary permission to hand over part of the unused land belonging to the collective farms to industrial enterprises, institutions and military units. But at the end of the war the animals and property were all to be returned. For decisions on all questions relating to collective-farm development the Government set up a Council for Collective Farm Affairs.

The measures to be taken to restore agriculture were considered at the February 1947 Plenary Session of the Central Committee, which made recommendations concerning the restoration of the sowing areas, increasing the yield of grain and industrial crops, improving livestock rearing and taking such measures as the introduction of crop rotation and the improvement of seed growing. A most important task was the restoration and subsequent development of grain growing. The rate at which restoration could be achieved depended on the amount of technology available and the skilled manpower to use it. The Plenary Session declared it to be essential to increase the output of trucks, tractors, combine harvesters and other agricultural machinery, and of mineral fertilizers, chemicals and oil products and to or-

ganise training and retraining schemes for agricultural machinery operators.

The February Plenum also set out steps to improve the running of agriculture by the Party and Soviet organs. It instructed the Party organisations to expand their political work in the villages, and encourage the collective and state farm workers and the workers at the machine and tractor stations to play an active part in the restoration and development of agriculture.

The socialist emulation drive that spread through the countryside in 1947, and which was initiated by the grain growers from Altai, played an important role in implementing the directives of the February Plenum. Despite the lack of machinery, draught animals and manpower a certain success was achieved in 1947 in the restoration of agriculture. Sowing areas were increased. The gross yield from almost all crops was considerably greater than it had been the year before. Pay per work-day to collective farm workers was increased, although the amount of grain given per work-day was barely half as much as it had been before the war.

In the face of all the difficulties and privations the Soviet peasantry courageously and selflessly laboured to restore sowing areas, increase yields, build up herds and flocks, plant forests, dig reservoirs and irrigation canals and build houses and provide amenities for the population.

Gradually the Soviet village was restored to its pre-war level. In five years important changes had taken place in the collective and state farms and in the machine and tractor stations. The material and technological base of agricultural production had been strengthened and almost completely renewed. In 1950 there were 600,000 tractors, 211,000 combine harvesters and 283,000 trucks, which was more than before the war.

The number of workers engaged in agriculture, however, was less in 1950 than it had been before the war (33.2 million as against 36.3 million in 1940). In the collective and state farms there were a total of 1,356,000 agricultural machine operators as against 1,401,000 in 1940. The expertise of the agricultural managers and specialists, however, had improved.

In overcoming the difficulties caused by the aftermath of the

war the socialist emulation drive in agriculture had played an important part.

In 1950 the Party decided to enlarge the collective farms. Previously there had been up to 236,900 collective farms in the country containing an average of 81 peasant households. There were, however, quite a large number of collective farms with only one half or a third as many holdings.

On the small collective farms it was impossible to make the fullest use of the new complex agricultural technology. The indivisible funds of these collective farms, being the basis of their economy, grew slowly, while expenses on administrative and service personnel were higher than in the large farms. Therefore, it made economic sense to merge these smaller collective farms into larger units. Much of this work was done in 1950 and by the end of that year the number of collective farms was reduced to 123,700, while the number of holdings per one was up to 165. This created favourable conditions for turning the collective farms into multi-sectoral, highly mechanised economics.

But for all this agriculture still lagged behind other branches of the economy. Capital investments were insufficient and there was still not enough machinery. Crop yields and livestock productivity remained low. Also the low procurement prices for grain, potatoes, meat and other basic agricultural products did nothing to promote agricultural development. Nor did tax legislation encourage peasants to develop their own allotments. A multi-sectoral agriculture needed a huge skilled work force with a full and deep understanding of the economics of production and able to solve problems of mechanisation, agronomy and animal rearing. This as yet it did not have. The result was a negative influence on agriculture as a whole.

The Results of the Fourth Five-Year Plan

The historical task of restoring the economy after the war was accomplished in a very short period (by the early fifties).

The major industrial enterprises that had been destroyed by the war were now restored. The restoration of the Soviet national economy after the Great Patriotic War was carried out more

intensively than the restoration of the economy after the Civil War and it was accompanied by a vast programme of new building.

During the fourth five-year plan 6,200 industrial enterprises were completely renovated or built anew. The total number of industrial and office workers rose to 40.4 million (as against 33.9 million in 1940). Gross industrial output was 73 per cent higher than before the war, which was much better than the level envisaged under the plan. And heavy industry achieved outstanding success.

Industrial output in the Union republics was higher than in the prewar. Even in those which had suffered the greatest damage the pre-war volume of industrial output was not only equalled but surpassed. Both the Ukraine and Byelorussia, for example, showed 15 per cent increases on the pre-war level.

Gross agricultural production in 1950, however, was lightly below the pre-war level and a number of important indicators like crop yields did not reach the planned level. Many of the collective and state farms, particularly in the formerly occupied regions, remained weak and in need of great help.

Under the fourth five-year plan the living standards of the working people showed a noticeable improvement. The plan envisaged a 38 per cent increase above the pre-war national income level by the end of the five-year period. In actual fact, however, the 1940 level was exceeded by 64 per cent.

Improvements in living standards were expressed in the growth of absolute and real wages for industrial and office workers. Of great importance in this respect was the abolition of rationing system in 1947 and the three major reductions in state retail prices that were made during the five-year plan period.

Great attention was paid by the Government to the health service with considerable improvements being introduced into the medical, sanitary and prophilactic services. Hospitals that had been damaged during the war were rebuilt and new hospitals and sanatoria constructed.

Housing construction was extensively developed under the fourth five-year plan, but the population continued to experience acute shortages.

Socialist Economic Reconstruction in the Baltic Republics and in the Reunited Provinces of Byelorussia, the Ukraine and Moldavia

For Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Moldavia and the western regions of the Ukraine and Byelorussia the fourth five-year plan was a time of radical socialist transformation.

Prior to reunification with the USSR the economies of these areas were dominated by small-scale commodity production. Even in the Baltic republics where before the First World War the level of industrial development was higher than in some other parts of Russia the presence of bourgeois-fascist regimes had resulted in a decrease in the level of industrial development. In the western provinces of Byelorussia industrial output before reunification only amounted to 9.1 per cent of the economy.

After the war socialist transformations had to be begun almost from scratch. They were accompanied simultaneously by the restoration of the war-ravaged economy and the overcoming of the aftermath of the fascist occupation. The working people of the new Soviet republics and regions relied heavily on the political and economic might of the Soviet Union and on the enormous theoretical and practical experience of the revolutionary transformation of society accumulated by the Communist Party. The working people of all the Soviet republics provided fraternal aid in effecting the transition from a multi-structured to a socialist economy and to a socialist culture there.

The restoration and further development of the economy in the new republics and regions took place on the basis of a radical technological reconstruction of existing industrial enterprises and the building up of new industries. The USSR's highly developed industry made it possible, during the socialist industrialisation of the new republics and regions, to build up those branches of heavy industry that ensured the most efficient utilisation of the natural, material and manpower resources of these areas and raised their industrial level. Priority here went to the reconstructions and expansion of the fuel and energy industries. Power stations were restored and new ones built, and new enterprises constructed which utilised the newly developed peat, shale and natural gas deposits. New sectors of the machine-building indus-

try arose. The light and food industries underwent radical reconstruction. By 1948 industry in the Baltic republics had caught up with its pre-war level and in 1950 considerably surpassed it. The structure of industry had changed with machine-building and metal-working now being the most important industries.

At the same time the numerical strength of the working class increased as did its role in the economic and social life of the new republics and regions. But the working class there was not yet homogeneous. It was replenished with peasants, artisans, handicraftsmen and small traders. At the enterprises and on the building sites the Party organisations strove systematically to inculcate a socialist attitude to work and to encourage collectivism and comradeship.

By the end of the post-war five-year plan a powerful socialist industry had been created in the new republics and regions. In Estonia the machine-building, chemical and shale processing industries rapidly became the most important, and on the basis of the latter the gas industry was developed. The total volume of industrial output in Estonia in 1950 was 240 per cent higher than it had been before the war.

The dominant industries in Latvia were metal-working, machine-building and electrical engineering. In Riga the REZ plant for manufacturing electrical equipment and the Avtoelectropribor plant producing electrical instruments were built. By 1950 the level of industrial production was 200 per cent higher than it had been before the war.

In Lithuania the machine-tool, electrical engineering, agricultural machinery and measuring instruments industries were built up from scratch. Light industry made great headway. By 1950 industrial output was twice the level it had been before the war.

In 1940, in the western regions of Byelorussia the share of industry in the economy as a whole rose almost three times against the pre-war level with completely new industries being built up.

The western regions of the Ukraine also began to be industrialised. The ancient city of Lvov was gradually developing into a major industrial centre. New industries like natural gas proces-

sing, coal mining and automobile manufacturing were created while enterprises in the timber, furniture and food industries were either renovated or newly built.

In Moldavia the cannaries and butter dairies were completely renovated and new light-industry enterprises were built. The total volume of industrial output here was twice as it had been in 1940.

The greatest socio-economic changes took place in agriculture. After the war Soviet laws on the land were reinstituted in the Baltic republics, Moldavia, and the western regions of the Ukraine and Byelorussia and these ensured that it passed into the hands of the working peasantry. Millions of hectares of land, agricultural equipment, machinery, livestock and buildings which had previously belonged to the landowners and kulaks were given free of charge to the farm labourers and to the poor and middle peasants and, where necessary, to the state farms that had been set up in these regions.

The Party and the Soviet Government provided great help to the new owners in the form of seeds or machinery or credit to buy them with. Agronomists, vets and other agricultural specialists were also sent to villages.

The agrarian transformations changed the whole life of the farm labourers and the poor and middle peasants. By nationalising the land, limiting the size of holdings and raising taxes, Soviet power undermined the economic foundations of the kulaks and gradually ousted them from their positions.

The use of agricultural technology, modern methods and mineral fertilizers resulted in an increase in crop yields. Economic necessity led hundreds of thousands of peasants to realise the advantages of collective farming which they could see in practice in the eastern regions of the country.

The Soviet state did everything to encourage the peasants to make use of agricultural technology. It increased the supply of agricultural tools and machinery and gave support to the various agricultural associations that were forming.

The first transformations in the Baltic villages began before the war. In 1946-1947 this process which had been interrupted was renewed. The working peasants formed initiative groups to promote the collectivisation of agriculture.

In a resolution of May 21, 1947 on the formation of collective farms in the Baltic republics the Party Central Committee warned the local organs that there should be no excess haste in the important undertaking in which they were engaged. The Central Committee recommended that entry into the collective farms should be purely voluntary and that collective farms should only be set up around well-equipped machine and tractor stations.

An important part in preparing for collectivisation was played by the simple forms of peasant cooperation. The Soviet state paid great attention to the restoration of the state and collective farms and machine and tractor stations that had been formed before the war.

During the immediate post-war years the socialist sector still accounted for a small part of agriculture, but as each year went by it began to account for more and more. Collective-farm movement was gaining momentum in all the republics and regions.

During the first three years of the five-year plan the necessary conditions were created for the transformation of the many small and fragmented peasant holdings into large-scale, multi-sectoral collective economies, all equipped with modern agricultural technology.

The year 1949 saw the greatest upsurge of the collective-farm movement in the Baltic republics, Moldavia and the Western Ukraine.

In 1950 political departments were set up at the machine and tractor stations in the new republics and regions. These were given the task of strengthening the new collective farms organisationally and economically and inculcating in the collective farmers a socialist attitude to labour and to social property.

The socialist industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture which were carried out in the Baltic republics, the western regions of Byelorussia, the Ukraine and Moldavia under the fourth five-year plan led to their multi-structured economies being transformed into socialist economies and to the complete triumph of the socialist economic system.

At the same time as these deep political and socio-economic transformations were taking place the new Soviet republics and regions also underwent a cultural revolution.

The successes achieved under the fourth five-year plan created favourable conditions for the subsequent growth of the country's economy and for raising the living standards of the working people.

3. THE SOVIET UNION IN THE FIFTIES

The Fifth Five-Year Plan (1951-1955)

By the beginning of the fifties the restoration of the economy after the war was successfully completed and important successes had been achieved in its subsequent development. The country was now able to go ahead with further economic expansion.

The 19th Party Congress which was held in October 1952 assessed the results of the struggle of the Party and the Soviet people and gave a thorough analysis of the path traversed by the country so far. The conclusion was full approval for the political line of the Party and for the practical work of the Central Committee.

The 19th Congress of the CPSU was the first congress to be held since the formation of the world community of socialist countries. Representatives from these countries and from the other fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties were invited to attend the congress as guests.

The congress stressed that the Soviet Union true to its internationalist duty would continually provide all-round aid to those countries that had entered the path of socialist development. The relations between the USSR and the other socialist countries were relations of a completely new type. They were built on the principles of equality, economic cooperation and respect for national independence and state sovereignty. Owing to the international character of the dictatorship of the proletariat the socialist state now had a function that was fundamentally new and that had never existed before. This was to provide aid for other countries in building socialism and defending its gains.

These developments added a new dimension to the national economic plans of the USSR. Under the fifth five-year plan the first steps were taken to agree and coordinate the national economic plans of several socialist countries. Inter-state specialisa-

tion and cooperation in production was begun. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance,[1] which was set up in 1949, now began to extend its activity. The Directives of the 19th CPSU Congress for the fifth five-year plan emphasised its importance for strengthening and expanding economic cooperation between the USSR and the other socialist countries.

The Directives for the fifth five-year plan (1951-1955) envisaged approximately doubling the output of the machine-building and metal-working industries and the capacity of the power stations.

In agriculture it was planned to promote mechanisation, raise yields and multiply the gross and marketable output of farming and livestock rearing.

The five-year plan also aimed at raising the material and cultural standards of the working people, while the national income was to increase by 60 per cent over the period of the plan.

The 19th Congress renamed the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Certain changes were also introduced into the Party Rules, which had the effect of increasing the individual role of each Party member as an active, conscious and self-sacrificing champion of the cause of communism.

The Further Strengthening of the Soviet Social and State System

Soon after the 19th Party Congress on March 5, 1953 J. V. Stalin died. The enemies of socialism calculated that the death of the Party leader, who for many years had headed the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government would spread dismay and confusion among the rank and file of the Party and among its leadership and hesitation in the conduct of foreign and domestic policy. But these calculations failed.

The Communist Party provided the correct leadership for the whole country. As a result of the experience so far accumulated

[1] The CMEA then included Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and from 1950 the GDR.

a series of measures were introduced by the Party between 1953 and 1955 which were aimed to further strengthen the Soviet social and state system, expand socialist democracy and raise the initiative of the masses. The rights of the Union republics were extended with many matters now being given over to their jurisdiction, which during the war and the early post-war years had been decided by the Union Government.

Measures were also taken by the Party and the Soviet Government to improve the work of the state apparatus. Particular attention was paid to protecting the rights of Soviet citizens and strengthening socialist legality. The hostile activities of the political adventurist, Beria, who until the summer of 1953 had occupied high positions in the state, were exposed.

The July 1953 Plenary Session of the Central Committee approved these measures and took a number of important decisions designed to strengthen Party control over the work of all the state organs.

The Central Committee of the Party adopted a policy that was aimed at strengthening and developing the basic norms of Party life and the principles of leadership, particularly the principle of collective leadership, that had been evolved by Lenin and tested in practice. Only collective experience that was firmly grounded in Marxist-Leninist theory could, it was noted in the resolution of the Plenum, ensure correct leadership.

The Central Committee took steps to ensure a real expansion of inner-Party democracy on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism. Considerable work was undertaken to invigorate the local Party organisations, so as to raise the creative initiative of Communist Party members.

All these measures combined to strengthen the Soviet state system and the Soviet people were even more strongly united behind the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

The Policy for Accelerating Technological Progress

The beginning of the fifth five-year plan was accompanied by successes in the new industrial building programme. Work was now in full swing on the construction of the Kuibyshev, Stalin-

grad and Kakhovka hydro-electric power stations, the Volga-Don Canal and the Tsimlyansk hydro-engineering complex. On all these projects the most advanced technology of the time was employed.

The Volga-Don Canal, which consists of a whole system of locks and reservoirs, was built two years earlier than planned. On July 27, 1952 this waterway 101 kilometres long was opened for regular traffic. The whole enormous construction project was named after Lenin.

During the first two years of the fifth five-year plan major successes were recorded in industry, construction and transport. Gross industrial output in 1953 was 150 per cent higher than it had been before the war. Particularly rapid was the development of machine-building with a sharp increase in the output of lathes, turbines, tractors and combine harvesters.

The struggle to fulfill the fifth five-year plan was marked by a new upsurge of creative endeavour on the part of the Soviet people. At the hydro-electric power stations, mines and plants that were under construction, enthusiastic workers who came from all over the country showed the highest examples of labour heroism. Thousands of young workers laboured alongside their older comrades at the new enterprises and construction sites without thought for self.

Fast modern production methods became widespread not only in building, but in the metallurgical, textile, oil and other industries.

Work on the five-year plan required new creative efforts and a new socialist emulation drive. An important role in this was played by the resolution of the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers in 1951 on promoting socialist emulation. The Party, trade union and economic organisations were thus able to be more precise in their direction of the creative activity of the masses, and new forms of socialist emulation were thought up.

The 11th Congress of Trade Unions which took place in June 1954 played an important role in analysing the experience of the advanced workers and in organising a new upsurge in the creative endeavours of the working class. Meetings were held between leading managers in industry, construction and transport on the

one hand, and foremost workers, engineers and technicians, on the other. At these meetings a series of measures were decided upon for further expanding industry and raising the productivity of labour.

The July 1955 Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee reviewed the question of technological progress and outlined concrete steps to provide industrial enterprises with new technology and equipment, to improve work with inventors and rationalisers and to put new suggestions into practice. The Plenum demanded that workers in industry and science should make a thorough study of all the latest developments in science and technology both at home and abroad and ensure that scientific achievements were put into practice with the minimum possible delay. Particular attention was given to the need to intensify the work of the Party and trade union organisations in promoting socialist emulation.

After the July Plenum the All-Union Central Trade Union Council reviewed the terms for All-Union and Republican Socialist Emulation. The main emphasis was put on introducing the latest technological developments in production. As well as fulfilling the plan in terms of its technological and economic indicators it was proposed that there should be an obligatory fulfillment of a plan to put into practice new inventions and new rationalising ideas.

These measures helped accelerate technological progress in industry. During the fifth five-year plan the number of inventors and rationalisers doubled.

At the same time as the new projects were put into operation, many functioning enterprises were reconstructed and re-equipped with more modern technology.

The introduction of technology was accompanied by changes in the professional skills of the work force. The number of workers involved in some form of manual labour dropped noticeably. New occupations came into being, which demanded the highly qualified servicing of new machinery. Fitters, mechanics and electricians now became the most important at the building sites.

Work collectives at the enterprises took it upon themselves to raise the general educational level of their workers. Each enterprise compiled a long-term plan for improving the general edu-

cation and specific qualifications of their workers. There was an overall expansion in the network of courses for young workers and in the number of night schools, vocational training schools, technical colleges and factory schools.

For pupils with secondary general education coming to work in industry in 1954 special technical schools were set up under the government labour reserves scheme.

By May 1, 1955 the fifth five-year plan had been fulfilled eight months ahead of schedule.

The volume of industrial output was up by 85 per cent as compared with 70 per cent envisaged under the plan. Production in the machine-building and metal-working industries had more than doubled and high capacity hydro-electric power stations had been commissioned.

The Soviet Union was the first country to make peaceful use of atomic energy. On June 27, 1954 the world's first atomic power station with a capacity of five thousand kilowatts was put into operation.

The Development of Agriculture

The further development of the economy was complicated by the lag in agriculture which could not supply the growing demand for raw materials or food. Thus there arose a certain disproportion in the development of industry and agriculture.

The position of agriculture was discussed at the September Plenum of the Central Committee in 1953. The Plenum adopted a resolution entitled "On Measures to Further Develop Agriculture in the USSR". At this Plenum N. S. Khrushchev was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The September Plenum was an important landmark in the mobilisation of the Soviet people for eliminating the lag in agricultural development. The measures it proposed for consolidating the material and technical base of the collective farms, for increasing the material incentive for the collective and state farm workers, for changing the practice of state procurement and for providing help in the form of qualified personnel proved thoroughly effective.

The Party devoted particular attention to the condition of grain growing, which was the basis of all agricultural production. This question was also a subject for discussion at the February-March 1954 Plenum of the Central Committee. To effect a rapid increase in grain production it was decided that during the two-year period 1954-1955 13 million hectares of the virgin and fallow lands in Kazakhstan, Siberia, the Urals, the Volga area and part of the Northern Caucasus should be developed. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens immediately set off to the virgin lands. Their development had become a task for all the people. More than 500,000 young men and women from various towns and villages all over the country set out to develop the virgin lands. Relying on the upsurge of labour initiative of the masses, the Party and the Government decided in 1956 to develop a minimum of 28-30 million hectares of virgin lands.

By 1956, 425 new state farms had sprung up on the wide open spaces of the virgin lands of Kazakhstan, the Urals and Siberia. In a short time these enormous regions had been transformed and a total of 42 million hectares of land was now made arable.

The Party carried out an immense amount of work to promote the creative initiative of the agricultural workers, spread the use of advanced methods and propagandise the achievements of agricultural science. On August 1, 1954 the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition was opened in Moscow, which did much to increase agricultural production.

In launching their campaign to increase the creative initiative of the collective farmers, the Party and the Government took steps to improve the system of agricultural planning.

Outlays for agricultural development were substantially increased and the farms were made better equipped technologically.

Great efforts were made to provide more specialists and managers for the collective and state farms and for the machine and tractor stations. In 1954 and 1955 more than 120,000 agricultural specialists left the towns and regional centres to work on the collective farms. At the call of the Party more than 20,000 Communists also left the towns for work in the villages.

Despite the fact that for several years there had been unfavourable weather conditions, significant success was achieved in the production of grain. Also the productivity of labour in agriculture was 38 per cent higher in 1955 than it had been in 1940.

Of particular importance were the measures taken to raise the material interest of the collective farmers in increasing agricultural production. Procurement and purchase prices of agricultural produce were increased and the amount of the compulsory deliveries of grain, vegetables, industrial crops and animal products by the collective farmers was reduced. New kinds of material incentive for labour were introduced which helped both to increase productivity and strengthen discipline. State investments in agriculture were increased and its material and technical basis was made stronger.

The measures taken by the state to do away with the lag in agricultural development, the organised help given by the working class in the industrial centres to their comrades on the farms and the selfless labour of those working on the collective and state farms and in the machine and tractor stations produced results. In 1955 the gross grain harvest yielded 6.5 billion poods.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU and the Struggle to Implement Its Decisions

In February 1956 the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held. The Congress reviewed the work of the Party since the 19th Congress and approved the directives for the sixth five-year plan of national economic development.

The main targets of the sixth five-year plan were to achieve through giving priority to heavy industry, constantly using technological progress and raising the productivity of labour, the further accelerated growth of all sectors of the economy, particularly the production of the means of production.

The Congress analysed the international situation and the current state of the international working-class and communist movement. The main feature of the present period, it was noted at the Congress, was the fact that socialism had emerged from the confines of one country and had become a world system.

As a result of the growth and development of the socialist system and the liberation of many colonial peoples imperialism had suffered new defeats and its sphere of influence had considerably shrunk.

The Congress noted that in the complex situation that had emerged considerable importance was attached to such radical questions of international development as the peaceful coexistence of two systems and the possibility of preventing war. The transition from capitalism to socialism as a historical process in which one world social system is replaced by another represents a whole epoch of coexistence between the two systems.

The 20th CPSU Congress stressed the real possibility of preventing wars of aggression in the present world. History had shown that there were powerful political and social forces in the world with enough resources behind them to prevent imperialism from unleashing a war. The correlation between the forces of war and the forces of peace had radically changed in favour of peace and democracy. But even so this did not alter Lenin's thesis that so long as imperialism existed there also existed the economic foundation for war.

Therefore, the utmost vigilance was required, for, so long as capitalism remained, reactionary forces would continue to strive for military adventurism and aggression. To prevent war, which given the state of modern military technology would result in incalculable destruction and suffering, it was essential that all peace-loving forces should relax none of their efforts towards the maintenance and strengthening of peace.

In conformity with the new tasks of communist construction the 20th Congress of the CPSU outlined the directions for the subsequent development of the Soviet social and state system and socialist democracy. The Congress pointed to the necessity of continually improving the work of the Soviet state apparatus by, on the one hand, reducing its size and, on the other, strengthening its ties with the masses.

The working people of the country set about implementing the decisions of the 20th Party Congress with great enthusiasm. The socialist emulation drive in industry and agriculture went ahead on a vast scale.

An important role in generating enthusiasm among the Soviet

people for work and politics, in expanding and developing socialist democracy and in encouraging the masses to participate in running the state was played by the Party criticism of Stalin's personality cult. The Party viewpoint on this question was outlined in a resolution of the Central Committee, dated June 30, 1956 which was entitled "On Overcoming the Personality Cult and Its Consequences".

The resolution noted the great services performed to the Party and the country by J. V. Stalin. It provided a deep analysis of the objective and subjective conditions which gave rise to the personality cult and revealed the serious damage which it did to the development of socialist democracy and the enhancement of the creative activity and initiative of the masses. At the same time it stressed that the personality cult did not and could not change the genuinely popular character of the Soviet system, which was based on social ownership of the means of production, on the firm alliance between the working class and the working peasantry and on the unbreakable friendship between the peoples of the USSR.

This thorough criticism of the personality cult was enormously important for raising the leading role of the Party, creatively developing Marxism-Leninism, expanding socialist democracy and strengthening the Soviet system.

The majority of the targets planned for the first years of the sixth five-year plan were reached ahead of time. On the initiative of groups of workers from twenty foremost enterprises in Moscow and the Moscow Region a socialist emulation drive was launched across the country to fulfill the 1956 plan ahead of time. In October 1956 the All-Union Conference of Rationalisers, Inventors and Innovators was held.

In answer to the appeal of the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers more than 100,000 young patriots joined the army of those who were building new enterprises in the eastern and northern regions of the country and constructing new mines in the Donbas. The Komsomol assumed patronage over the largest of the new building sites.

The plan for the first year of the sixth five-year plan in industry was overfulfilled throughout the country as a whole.

The second year was marked by a growth in industrial output.

The latest technological developments were put on display at the All-Union Industrial Exhibition which was opened in June 1957. At this exhibition more than one thousand types of new machinery, lathes and complex units were shown.

The agricultural workers too achieved important successes. The sown area for all crops was increased to a total of 195 million hectares, an increase which was largely achieved by the cultivation of the fallow and virgin lands.

To gather in this enormous harvest the efforts of all collective-farm, state-farm and MTS workers were strained to the utmost. But in this task they were helped by thousands of industrial and office workers, students and pupils coming out from the towns. Six hundred thousand came to Kazakhstan alone from towns all over the USSR. The Komsomol organisations sent hundreds of thousands of young men and women to help with the harvests in the virgin lands. Despite the poor weather conditions of 1956 the Soviet people nevertheless managed to get the harvest in.

Important advancements were made in the development of industrial crops, particularly cotton. In Uzbekistan alone as much cotton was picked as in the whole of Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Brazil taken together. The working people of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan did an enormous amount of work to develop the Golodnaya Steppe. Modern machinery was provided by the Soviet state and the plan to cultivate the Golodnaya Steppe was successfully completed.

The growth of marketable agricultural produce allowed the Soviet state in 1958 to pass a resolution revoking the compulsory deliveries of agricultural produce by collective farmers. This measure was designed to improve the living standards of the collective farm peasantry. The income of the collective farms trebled in comparison with the 1950 level. On average a collective farm had four thousand hectares of usable land, two thousand of which was arable. Strengthening the collective farms economically made it possible to alter the existing system of providing production and technical servicing via the machine and tractor stations.

In March 1958 the Supreme Soviet passed a law according to which the machine and tractor stations were reorganised and agricultural machinery was sold directly to the collective farms.

By the end of the year more than 80 per cent of collective farms had their own tractors and other machinery. The collective farms were now supplemented by a vast army of trained mechanics, tractor drivers and combine-harvester operators.

Changes in the production and technical servicing of the collective farms resulted in new forms of economic ties between the collective farms and the state. The system and terms of procuring agricultural produce were changed. Instead of a variety of forms for the procurement of agricultural produce a single form was introduced, whereby state purchases were made according to fixed prices that were determined by the geographical zone in which a given farm was situated.

In view of the new objectives facing the country the Party improved the old and sought for new forms and methods of raising the activity of the working masses and increasing their participation in state, economic and cultural development. The role of the local Soviets was enhanced, their work was made more effective, their ties with the masses were strengthened, and the working people were encouraged to take part in various commissions and participate in the other mass public organs of the local Soviets.

In 1956 the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR passed a resolution extending the rights of the Union republics and handing over to their control the running of enterprises in certain economic sectors.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR approved the measures taken by the Soviet Government to further enhance the role played by the Union republics in running the national economy. In 1957 a number of legislative acts were adopted to further extend the rights of the Union republics. The Union republics now had legislation on legal procedure and the endorsement of civil, criminal and procedural codes transferred to their jurisdiction. The establishment of the fundamentals of Soviet legislation remained, of course, the prerogative of the USSR. The Supreme Soviet was acting in accordance with Lenin's instructions that the strict observance of unified laws established for the whole federation was essential, but that at the same time local peculiarities had to be taken into account. It was also decided to set up an economic commission attached to the Soviet of Na-

tionalities as an inter-republican body that was to submit proposals on matters of economic and cultural development in the Union republics.

In 1957 the Supreme Soviet endorsed the decrees of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the restoration of national autonomy to the Balkars, Chechens, Ingushes, Kalmyks and Karachais.[1] These measures carried out on the initiative of the Party Central Committee were of considerable importance in strengthening the unity and friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

A special role in increasing the activity of the local Soviets was played by the Central Committee resolution "On Improving the Work of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies and Strengthening Their Ties with the Masses" (January 1957). The Central Committee recommended the Party and Soviet organs in the Union republics to take practical measures to extend the rights of the local Soviets in matters of economic and cultural development and particularly in economic planning.

As a result of these measures there was a noticeable increase in the part played by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies in organisational, economic and educational matters.

A resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet (May 1957) on the restructuring of industrial and building management led to the abolition of some Union and Union-Republican ministries. These were now replaced with economic councils formed on an economic administrative basis. Those enterprises that had been under the jurisdiction of the abolished ministries were now made directly subordinate to the appropriate local economic councils.

But this change from the sectoral to the territorial administration of industry did not justify itself. Experience was to show that the economic councils did not produce the desired results. Management over the various sectors of industry became frag-

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[1] In conformity with these decrees the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic was restored as part of the RSFSR and the Kalmyk Autonomous Region was formed within the RSFSR (in July 1958 it became an Autonomous republic). The Kabardin Autonomous Republic now became the Kabardin-Balkar Autonomous Republic and the Circassian Autonomous Region became the Karachai-Circassian Autonomous Region.

mented through the numerous economic regions. It upset the economic ties that had formed between the enterprises in different economic regions, held back the development of technology and led to "localist" moods among workers.

In pursuance of its unshakable policy of encouraging the working people to participate in running the state and industry the Communist Party took steps to invigorate the work of the trade unions and enhance their role in economic and cultural development. The December 1956 Plenum of the Central Committee called upon the trade unions to participate more actively in drawing up and fulfilling the industrial and financial plan at the enterprises and in deciding questions relating to the fixing of quotas, the organisation of labour, the setting of wages, the improving of safety precautions and particularly to housing construction and the improvement of living standards, amenities and services. It was also considered essential to make the production conferences permanent, standing bodies.

After the 20th CPSU Congress a series of important measures were taken to improve the living standards and rise the cultural level of the Soviet people. The working day was reduced by two hours for industrial and office workers on Saturdays and on days before holidays. From July 1, 1956 a six-hour working day was established for teenagers. The periods of leave were increased for expectant mothers and for maternal care. From 1957 many enterprises and institutions went over gradually to the seven-hour working day.

An important measure for raising the living standards of the Soviet people was the new law on state pensions, which was passed in July 1956. Pensions for certain groups were more than doubled. Industrial and office workers on reaching pensionable age began to receive as a rule from fifty to one hundred per cent of their former wages. In 1957 there were 18 million persons in receipt of state pensions.

From January 1, 1957 a vast programme to increase the wages of low-paid industrial and office workers was put into effect. Huge outlays were allocated in the state budget for implementing these measures so that in that year alone the wages of the above-mentioned group went up on average by 33 per cent.

Another example of the Soviet Government's concern for the

working people was the decision to abolish payment for education at the secondary and higher educational institutions and also to open boarding schools.

House building was now carried out on a scale hitherto unknown in the country. In 1956, 36 million square metres of new housing was built, which was almost as much housing as already existed in Kiev, Kharkov, Baku, Gorky, Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk taken together. In August 1957 the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers passed a special resolution which accelerated the development of housing even more.

The country now had 460,000 places in sanatoria and resthomes and more than 6.5 million children went on holiday annually to children's sanatoria, summer camps and tourist centres.

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET CULTURE IN THE FIFTIES

Education, Cultural and Educational Work

The war did serious damage to the material and technical base of Soviet culture. Thousands of school buildings, clubs and museums were destroyed and it was necessary to make a temporary halt in the production of many items required for the development of education and culture. Printed matter, for example, was severely reduced. Thus book production in 1945 was only 40 per cent of what it had been before the war. The number of newspapers and periodicals was also cut down.

The restoration of the schools, libraries, theatres, museums and clubs and the general uplift in the cultural and educational work of the state became one of the most essential needs of the Soviet people. The Party and the Government took all steps possible to satisfy the growing demands of the people for culture and education, and year after year state subsidies for cultural development were increased.

From 1946 to 1950 a total of 4,345 schools taking 1,181,000 pupils were either built or restored. These successes in school building made it possible to achieve the target set by the 18th Party Congress which was to introduce universal seven-year education in the villages and in all the national republics together

with universal secondary education in the towns. In 1949 and 1950 this was put into practice with the result that in the republican capitals, in the large towns and in the regional and territorial centres universal secondary education became the norm.

The training of specialists was also carried out on an extensive scale. Every year new higher educational institutes and technical colleges were opened. By the end of the fifties almost 50 million persons were in receipt of one form of education or another and more than four million of these were students at higher educational establishments.

An enormous amount of work was done to restore and develop the cultural and educational institutions and enhance their educative role. The working people in towns and countryside worked selflessly to recreate the centres of socialist culture. Many clubs, libraries and village reading-rooms were built by volunteer brigades consisting of industrial and office workers and peasants who worked in their spare time without pay.

Altogether in the country there were 138,000 public libraries with a total of 753 million books and periodicals. There were also 128,400 clubs and 870 museums.

After the war considerable restoration was done on such cultural centres as the Lev Tolstoy Museum-Estate at Yasnaya Polyana, Pushkin's House at Mikhailovskoye, the Tchaikovsky Museum at Klin and places connected with the lives of Gogol and Shevchenko in the Ukraine.

The famous Sevastopol panorama was restored and expanded. New museums were opened including the M. I. Kalinin Museum, the Chekhov Museum and the Vasnetsov Museum in Moscow, the History of Leningrad Museum in Leningrad and a branch of the Lenin Museum in Lvov.

Radio broadcasts were given in more than 50 of the languages of the peoples of the USSR and in 30 foreign languages.

Television sets too became more and more common in the homes of the working people. In 1948 there were only two television centres (in Moscow and Leningrad) in the country, and until 1951 programmes were only broadcast twice a week. But by the end of the fifties there were more than 60 TV stations throughout the country including centres in Kiev, Kharkov, Riga, Gorky, Tomsk, Baku, Sverdlovsk and Omsk.

The material basis for scientific research had already been restored and developed during the fifth five-year plan. By 1950 there were 3,447 scientific institutions including higher educational establishments, which was 1,088 more than there had been in 1940. The scientific staff totalled 162,500. Furthermore, a number of new scientific centres had also been built including the Institute of Nuclear Physics and the Institute of Radiotechnology and Electronics. A network of research institutes was expanded in the Union republics and academies of sciences had been founded in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia and in Kazakhstan, Tadjikistan and Kirghizia.

In subsequent years the development of Soviet science was even more rapid. By the late fifties the number of research institutes was in excess of 3,000, while the total number of scientists was almost 300,000, of whom 100,000 were doctors and candidates of sciences. The largest of the new scientific centres was the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences which was opened in Novosibirsk in 1957.

The rapid development of Soviet science was attested to by the outstanding advances made by the country's scientists, particularly in physics. Immediately after the building of the world's first atomic power station in 1954, construction was completed on the world's largest proton synchrotron (capacity 10 billion electron volts). Atomic energy was now being successfully developed for use in agriculture and medicine as well as industry. The advances made by Soviet scientists in nuclear physics won them renown throughout the world. At the International Scientific and Technological Conference which was held in August 1955 high praise was given to the contribution made by Soviet scientists in the peaceful use of nuclear energy. These successes on the part of Soviet scientists made it possible to establish at Dubna near Moscow an Institute of Nuclear Research where scientists from all over the world come to work.

Outstanding services to the development of nuclear technology in the USSR were performed by Academician I. V. Kurchatov, who was three times awarded the title Hero of Socialist

Labour. Other important scientists in this field included A. P. Vinogradov, V. I. Veksler, M. D. Millionshchikov, A. A. Blagonravov and D. B. Skobeltsyn. Major successes were also achieved by Soviet physicists such as L. A. Artsimovich in experiments with controlled nuclear reactions.

The theoretical work that was done in automation, telemechanics, semiconductor physics, radiotechnology, and computer mathematics, and the first production of electronic calculators were of fundamental importance for accelerating technological progress. The highest achievements in these fields were directly connected with the work of M. V. Keldysh, N. N. Bogolyubov, I. M. Vinogradov, A. F. Ioffe, A. Yu. Ishlinsky, A. N. Kolmogorov, A. L. Mints, N. I. Muskhelishvili, I. G. Petrovsky and A. N. Tikhonov.

October 4, 1957 has gone down in history as a day of genuine triumph for Soviet science. It was on this day that the world's first artificial satellite (Sputnik), which was the work of Soviet scientists, was launched into orbit around the Earth. The news of this event shook the whole world. Soviet scientists had made an invaluable contribution to world science and had ushered in a new era in the development of human knowledge about the Earth and the Universe.

On November 3, 1957, second artificial satellite was launched on board of which for the purposes of scientific experiment was the dog Laika. Subsequently the Soviet Union launched artificial satellites periodically as part of a vast research programme.

During these years new supersonic aircraft were designed and built by A. N. Tupolev, O. K. Antonov and A. S. Yakovlev.

Scientific exploration of the regions of the Arctic and Antarctic was also carried out on a vast scale. A Soviet expedition to the Central Arctic drew a relief map of the ocean bottom and did a considerable amount of other cartographic work. Soviet research in the Antarctic also went ahead successfully.

In 1956 the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution "On the Lenin Prize for Outstanding Works in Science, Technology, Literature and the Arts".[1]

[1] The Lenin Prize instituted in 1925 had been discontinued since 1936.

In the social sciences the consistent struggle of the Party for the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory could be seen to have a fruitful influence.

The output of political literature increased. In 1951 the Fourth Edition of the *Collected Works* of Lenin, work on which had been resumed after the war, was published and work was begun on the publication of the Second Edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels. The debate on matters of philosophy, economics and linguistics which was begun on the initiative of the Party between 1947 and 1951 received a wide response. An important event of those years was the founding of the Academy of Social Sciences under the Party Central Committee.

In the mid-fifties the Central Committee adopted a number of decisions orienting Soviet political scientists towards overcoming the manifestations of dogmatism that were impeding the theoretical development and practical solution of important issues affecting the building of communism. The subsequent invigoration of theoretical work had a beneficial influence on the social sciences as a whole.

Books on histories of the CPSU and the USSR were produced by groups of historians and the multi-volume *History of the World* began to be published. Almost all the Union and Autonomous republics produced composite histories of their peoples. A number of new periodicals were begun including the *Problems of History of the CPSU, History of the USSR* and *Recent and Modern History.* As an aid to those studying Marxist-Leninist theory the *Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy* was published together with new text-books on political economy and other subjects.

The Struggle for New Upsurge in Literature and the Arts

The successful restoration of the national economy and the general growth of creative activity among the masses inspired writers, poets, musicians and artists to create new and interesting works. The first post-war years saw the publication of such works as Fadeyev's *The Young Guard,* Polevoi's *A Story about a Real*

Man and Kasakevich's *Star,* each of which clearly reflected the heroic struggle of the Soviet people against the fascist invaders. At the same time there were other widely popular novels published that were devoted to the peaceful labour of the Soviet people and the labour feats of those who only recently had been defending the freedom and independence of their socialist Motherland.

A number of novels also appeared whose theme was the history of the USSR. These included *Early Joys* and *No Ordinary Summer* by K. Fedin, *Abai* by the Kazakh writer M. Auezov and *Bukhara* by the Tadjik writer, S. Aini.

During these years Soviet writers created works that reflected the struggle for peace, exposed those who were stirring up another war, showed the growing international ties uniting the peoples of the whole world and revealed the deep aspirations of the peoples of the world for peace.

Opera and drama groups worked hard on the finest productions of the Russian and world classics. And new works appeared by Soviet dramatists, composers, artists and sculptors.

In a number of resolutions adopted in 1946 and 1948[1] the Central Committee of the Party defined the main ideological tasks facing literature and the arts and formulated and developed the most important Leninist principles relating to Party commitment in these fields.

The Central Committee emphasised that literature and art were called upon to serve the people and that since they played an important social role they could not be divorced from politics. They were therefore obliged to give an authentic and deep representation of reality, stressing what was new and progressive and criticising what was old and obsolete. And though certain writers at the time were subjected to unjustifiably harsh criticism, writers and artists in general drew the right conclusions and regarded any neglect of the principle of Party commitment as inadmissible. They accordingly took resolute measures to step up the struggle against bourgeois ideology.

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[1] These were "On the Periodicals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*", "On the Repertoire of the Drama Theatres and Measures to Improve Them" and others.

The important events in the development of the arts and literature during these years were the second All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers in 1954 and the All-Union congresses of artists and composers in 1957.

Broad discussion of matters affecting the development of literature, the pictorial arts and music showed that the artists of the country were united in their noble aim of capturing the life of the people in their works and striving together with them for the victory of communism.

Important changes took place in the pictorial arts. This was borne out by the All-Union Exhibition in 1957, where more than five thousand artists and sculptors displayed their works. The exhibition included works by S. T. Konenkov, the doyen of Soviet sculpture who was awarded the Lenin Prize for a number of his sculptures and M. K. Anikushin, who created the monument to Pushkin in Leningrad and was also awarded the Lenin Prize.

Many outstanding musical works were composed during the fifties by Soviet composers like Khachaturyan, Shostakovich and Dunayevsky.

Cultural contacts between the USSR and other countries were considerably expanded over this period. Book exchanges with libraries abroad, which had been interrupted during the war, were again renewed. Soviet artists and performers went on tours abroad and these were reciprocated by visits to the Soviet Union by foreign performers.

5. THE COMPLETE AND FINAL VICTORY OF SOCIALISM

The Fortieth Anniversary of the October Revolution

In autumn 1957 the Soviet people and all progressive mankind celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The revolutionary celebrations were a clear demonstration of the growing international prestige of the Soviet state. The historical experience amassed by the Soviet people had promoted the

unification of all the socialist countries in a single community led by the Soviet Union.

During the fortieth anniversary celebrations a Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries was held in Moscow. The Meeting adopted a Declaration which gave a theoretical generalisation of the experience so far amassed in the struggle for socialism. The Declaration confirmed the identity of views among Communist and Workers' Parties on the cardinal issues of the socialist revolution, pointing out the existence of different forms and methods for building socialism stemming from the specific historical characteristics and conditions of each individual country.

The Declaration defined general laws governing the struggle for socialism. These laws are:

— leadership of the working masses by the working class, the nucleus of which is the Marxist-Leninist party, in effecting a proletarian revolution and in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another;

— the alliance between the working class and the bulk of the peasantry and also other sections of the working people;

— the abolition of capitalist ownership and the establishment of social ownership of the basic means of production;

— the gradual socialist transformation of agriculture;

— the planned development of the national economy aimed at building socialism and communism, at raising the living standards of the working people;

— the carrying out of a socialist revolution in the sphere of ideology and culture and the creation of an intelligentsia devoted to the cause of socialism;

— the abolition of national oppression and the establishment of equality and fraternal friendship among peoples;

— defence of the gains of socialism against attacks of external and internal enemies;

— solidarity of the working class of the country concerned with the working class of other countries, that is, proletarian internationalism.

These are the main characteristics and trends in the development of all countries that have entered on the road to socialism.

Between November 16 and 19, 1957 a Meeting of Representa-

tives of Communist and Workers' Parties from 64 countries was held in Moscow. The Meeting appealed to the working people of all countries and to all people of good will with a Peace Manifesto.

The Declaration and Peace Manifesto adopted by the meetings received the support and approval of all Communist and Workers' Parties throughout the world. The unanimity with which these documents were received signified a major ideological and political victory for the world communist movement.

A New Upsurge in Political and Labour Activity

The Soviet Union entered its fifth decade in the flowering of its creative forces. In early 1958 elections were held to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and these were preceded by a broad pre-election campaign. This pre-election campaign, like the elections themselves, which were held on March 16, vastly enhanced the political activity of the working people.

The Party Central Committee and the Soviet Government took a number of measures aimed at the further development of the economy. A Central Committee Plenum (May 1958) considered the question of accelerating the development of the chemical industry. This was of great importance for the development of the productive forces, for the most effective utilisation of the country's natural resources and for further technical progress in industry and agriculture. It was planned to develop the synthetic fibres industry to meet the needs of the national economy and to satisfy the demands of the consumer.

The immense work undertaken by the Communist Party and the selfless labour of the Soviet people ensured that the national economy of the USSR continued to develop successfully.

In summer 1958 building was finished on the Lenin hydro-electric power station at Kuibyshev. It had a capacity that was five times higher than all the electric power stations in pre-revolutionary Russia. The building of this giant power station on the Volga was a demonstration of the growing economic might of the Soviet state. The completion of the Volga hydro-electric power station was the beginning of an integral power grid for

the European part of the USSR. Huge power stations were also opened in the Donbas, in the Dnieper region, in the Urals, in Byelorussia and in the Caucasian republics and Central Asia.

During these years the country's main centre of the metallurgical industry located in the Donetsk-Dnieper region grew considerably.

In the vast areas of the Northern Caucasus, the Volga area and the Ukraine the gas industry was developed and a network of gas pipelines was built across the European part of the USSR.

Increasing quantities of oil began to flow from the Volga area to the west, to Perm in the north and to Omsk and Novosibirsk in the east. In Siberia and Kazakhstan the inexhaustible deposits of lignite began to be mined, extensive building was being carried out on major combines and high voltage power lines were being erected. In the Yakut ASSR in the east the diamond mining industry was started and new deposits of non-ferrous and rare metals began to be developed.

Between 1956 and 1958 the total volume of capital investments in the USSR's economy amounted to some 630 billion roubles. This was almost twice as much as all the capital investments during all the pre-war five-year plans.

New successes were also achieved by the agricultural workers. The gross yield of grain amounted to a total of almost 140 million tons. The state received some 57.5 million tonnes of corn. The number of livestock was increased as was the production of milk and meat. All of which made it possible to increase the amount of food available in the shops, provide more raw materials for industry and generally increase the standard of living of the people.

The Complete and Final Victory of Socialism

As a result of forty years of revolutionary transformations and creative labour on the part of the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party, socialism became completely and finally victorious in the USSR.

Socialist ownership of the means of production had developed to the full and become the unshakable foundation of the

life of the Soviet people. The socialist economy had now established itself as totally dominant.

In 1921 Lenin wrote: "Look at the map of the RSFSR. There is room for dozens of large civilised states in those vast areas which lie to the north of Vologda, the south-east of Rostov-on-Don and Saratov, the south of Orenburg and Omsk and the north of Tomsk. They are a realm of patriarchalism, and semi- and downright barbarism."[1]

This was all radically altered through the building of socialism.

Major towns and industrial centres sprung up in the north. The White Sea-Baltic Canal and a number of major power stations were built. Railways were laid across the taiga and the tundra. The broad expanses to the south-east of Saratov and Rostov-on-Don were covered with a network of power stations and numerous metallurgical and machine-building plants were constructed. Tremendous success in industrial development was achieved in the republics of Central Asia, where major industrial enterprises and huge power stations were built. In Kazakhstan gigantic ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical combines were in operation.

The old Russian towns of Omsk, Novosibirsk, Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk were turned into developed industrial centres. In Siberia dozens of new towns sprang up. A vast industrial centre in the Kuznetsk coal basin was built—the second major coal-mining area in the country—with large-scale metallurgical, chemical and machine-building plants.

In implementing Lenin's industrialisation programme the Soviet Union achieved results that were totally unprecedented in history.

In 1958 the USSR produced much more pig iron than Britain, France and Belgium taken together. The USSR took first place in Europe and second place in the world for its coal output, which reached 500 million tonnes. Gross industrial output in the USSR was 36 times higher than in 1913.

The rapid development of industry in the USSR, particularly

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Tax in Kind", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, pp. 349-50.

heavy industry, was the key to the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. The collective-farm system was finally victorious throughout the country. There were more than 1,650,000 tractors (calculated in the convention unit of 15 horsepower), more than 450,000 combine harvesters, some 660,000 lorries and millions of other complex items of machinery.

As a result of the socialist restructure of agriculture and the use of modern technology the productivity of labour rose considerably. Though the number of those engaged in agricultural production was almost half what it had been in pre-revolutionary times, the marketable output of grain was three times higher.

The main source of the livelihood and well-being of the Soviet people was personal labour in socialist social production, paid in accordance with the quantity and quality of individual output.

The national income of the USSR was 20 times higher than in 1913 and the per capita income 13 times higher. No capitalist country in the world had ever seen growth rates like these.

A cultural revolution had also taken place in the USSR as a result of which the educational and cultural level of the population had risen to an unprecedented degree. The USSR now had a population that was totally literate. Education had been made accessible to everyone and the country's intelligentsia was now many millions strong.

On the basis of the victory of the socialist social system new socialist nations had formed and developed and the fraternal unity between them had strengthened. The USSR has more than one hundred nations, nationalities and ethnic groups. Lenin's nationalities policy had ensured the renaissance and flourishing of each of them. Many of these peoples came to socialism bypassing the capitalist stage of development. Socialism put an end to the factual inequality that had previously existed between these peoples. And as the Soviet nations and nationalities flourished they drew closer and closer together. All the Soviet peoples have a common socialist Motherland—the USSR, they share a common economic base—the socialist economy, they possess a common social and class structure and a common ideology—Marxism-Leninism, and are motivated by a common aim—the

building of communism. The peoples of the URSS also have many common intellectual and psychological features.

The complete victory of socialism led to a strengthening of the Soviet political system and the development of socialist democracy. The Soviet state which came into being as a state of the dictatorship of the working class has developed into a state of the whole people. The working class continues to play a leading role in the life of the country. With the victory of socialism came the further flowering of socialist democracy. The broad masses participate directly in running the state and in promoting economic and cultural development. Alongside the strengthening of the organisational functions of the state organs the role of the public in running the country also rose.

The building of socialism in the USSR was the chief result of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Mankind now had the theoretical and practical knowledge of how to start and develop a new society.

But the complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR was conditioned not only by internal but also external factors. The internal danger of the restoration of capitalism inside the USSR had long ceased to exist. That capitalism cannot be imposed on it from outside became a reality after the formation of the world socialist system and the definite successes being achieved in the building of socialism in a number of other countries. There is now no force in the world that could return the Soviet Union to its capitalist past. In this respect the victory of socialism was final and complete.

Radical social changes had taken place in the country. Soviet society had been completely liberated from exploiters and parasites and become a society of the working people, by which we mean the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. All strata of Soviet society were part of the socialist system and, from the point of view of their social nature, homogenous. They all possessed common socialist features which united them into a single Soviet people. In the USSR the principle of socialism—"From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work"—had become a reality. Socialist principles were now established in every sphere of the life of society, economic, political and cultural.

CHAPTER NINE

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

1. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE IN THE USSR DURING THE SIXTIES

A New Stage of Historical Development

The final consolidation and ultimate victory of socialism was an essential precondition for the establishment of a developed socialist society in the USSR and for its mature forms in all aspects of the life of society—political, economic, social and cultural. The report delivered on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1967 by L. I. Brezhnev stated that a developed socialist society now existed in the Soviet Union.

With the building of a developed socialist society there began the process of gradual transition from "conclusively victorious and consolidated socialism to full communism".[1] Of greatest importance in this process is the immediate building of the material and technical basis of communism.

The development of socialism into communism is a long-term process and one that is completed within the framework of a developed socialist society. The movement towards communism progresses by means of the all-round development and improvement of mature socialism. On this basis new forms of social relations are formed and developed together with communist forms

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 144.

of production and consumption and the man of the future is moulded.

The Soviet Union entered the new stage of its forward development in the full vigour of its creative strength and in a real position to successfully achieve its high aim of building a communist society. Its internal and international position fully guarantee the achievement of this aim. In his day Lenin had already shown that the country had all the necessary internal prerequisites for building socialism because there were boundless human and natural resources in the USSR, and because the October Revolution had released the immense creative forces of the people.

The victory of the socialist system increased enormously the material and intellectual forces of the Soviet people and revealed new and even greater possibilities for further progress.

The natural resources of the USSR are literally countless. The Soviet Union possesses the world's greatest reserves of hydroelectric power. It is the only country in the world where all the elements in the Mendeleyev Table can be found in their natural state. It has enough raw materials to meet all the demands of the national economy.

In 1959 a national census was held, which revealed great changes to have taken place in the composition of the population during the years of socialist construction. The population of the whole country was now 208.8 million as against 170.6 million in 1939. The formation of the new republics of Latvia, Lithuania, Moldavia and Estonia and the return to the USSR of the Western regions of Byelorussia and the Ukraine meant an increase of 20 million, and a further 18 million or more were accounted for by natural population increase. Had the USSR not lost so many of its people during the Great Patriotic War its numerical growth would have been even larger.

Noticeable changes had taken place in the correlation between the urban and rural population. Whereas in 1939 the urban population had amounted to 33 per cent of the total, twenty years later it was already 48 per cent. This was conditioned by the subsequent rapid growth of industry with its concomitant natural increase in the urban population through a considerable number of the rural population coming to work in the towns.

In 1959, 83 per cent of the population, i.e., those who were of an age to work, were gainfully employed and participating in the creation of the country's material and intellectual wealth. Of their total number more than 80 per cent were engaged in the sphere of material production. The working class, the leading force in communist construction, had increased its numbers considerably.

The USSR had become a country of full literacy and with a high overall educational level. There were 58.7 million persons with higher and secondary education, complete or otherwise. Among the working class 39.6 per cent had incomplete secondary, secondary or even higher education. There were also 13.4 million specialists with higher, incomplete higher, or secondary specialised education and 316,000 research workers.

The majority of the Soviet population, 151 million (almost three quarters) was comprised of persons born after the October Revolution. Thus, the bulk of the working people had been brought up under the Soviet system.

The entry of Soviet society on a new stage of its development was accompanied by an upsurge in the people's creative activity. Socialist emulation now became something which the whole people participated in.

But there was another decisive factor in Soviet society that ensured the success of communist construction. This was the guidance exercised by the Communist Party which consistently led the country along the path shown by Lenin. The CPSU had in its ranks nine million of the finest representatives of the people as full and candidate members. The prestige of the Party was unshakable; the unity of the Party and the people unbreakable. In educating the Soviet people in the spirit of communism and devotion to their socialist Motherland, the Communist Party welded them together in indissoluble moral and political unity.

An important role in organising the working people and promoting their conscious activity was played by the trade unions, the Komsomol and the other Soviet public organisations. The trade unions had a membership of 60 million and the Leninist Komsomol about 20 million young men and women.

Life in the USSR was firmly based on socialist social relations. The basis for the life of the whole population including the

collective-farm peasantry was ownership of the means of production by the whole people. Soviet society achieved a high level of social homogeneity with the distinction between the working class and the peasantry being gradually erased.

The first socialist country in the world was now transformed through the heroic efforts of its people into a powerful, unconquerable state. The Soviet Union was not only producing all that was necessary for its own people, but was exporting modern equipment and machinery to dozens of foreign countries. In economic competition with the capitalist world it had achieved some outstanding successes. The USSR already accounted for one-fifth of the world's industrial output as against one-tenth in 1937.

The Soviet state with its socialist economy and modern technology could also ensure that the country was reliably defended.

The world socialist system which had wrenched new political, economic and ideological positions from capitalism, had become a decisive factor in the development of mankind.

Thus, the Soviet Union entered a period of developed socialism and transition to communism having all that was necessary for the achievement of this aim and amid a more favourable international climate than in the past when the socialist transformation of the country had been carried out.

The Programme for Building Communism

In 1959 the Extraordinary 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held in Moscow to discuss the prospects for national economic development over the years 1959-1965. In the course of amending and developing the targets of the sixth five-year plan the idea of a seven-year plan was put forward, which would incorporate the last two years of the current (sixth) five-year plan and the next (seventh) five-year plan into one. But the Party did not simply amend the previous target figures, it tackled qualitatively new national economic problems. "The main tasks of this phase will be the laying of the material and technical basis of communism, the further enhancement of the economic and defensive strength of our country and simul-

taneously the fuller satisfaction of the growing material and cultural needs of the Soviet people."

Work on creating the material and technical basis of communism was planned to be implemented in the following main directions:

— the all-round acceleration of the economic development of the USSR through the priority development of those branches of heavy industry that promote the rapid growth of the whole national economy;

— the intensive utilisation of the country's natural resources;

— scientific and technological progress in all sectors of the economy;

— the raising of the productivity of social labour.

The distinctive characteristic of the seven-year programme was the vast scale of production. The total amount of state capital investments planned was almost two trillion old roubles[1] which was only a little less than the total capital invested in the economy since the revolution. Gross industrial production was to be 80 per cent higher than in 1958. Great changes were to be made in the distribution of productive forces. More than 40 per cent of these capital investments were planned for the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan and Central Asia. Targets were set for the further raising of the living standards of the working people. This involved increasing real incomes, regulating wages, raising minimal pension rates, improving the shops and community services, increasing housing and reducing the working day and the working week.

During the summer of 1961 the drafts of the new Programme and Rules of the CPSU, which were to be discussed at the 22nd Congress of the Party, were published. The nationwide discussion of the documents, in which more than 80 million people took part, once more demonstrated the identity of interests between the Party and the people and the genuine popular policies of the Communist Party.

The 22nd Congress of the CPSU met in October 1961 to review not only the previous five years, but the whole epoch of

[1] On January 1, 1961 a monetary reform was effected. The rate of exchange was one new rouble to ten old roubles.

the struggle for communism since the very first establishment of Soviet power. This was essential in view of the adoption of the new Party Programme.

The first Party Programme, which had been adopted by the Second Congress of the RSDLP (Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party) had been fulfilled with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Second Programme, which was adopted by the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) was implemented with the victory of socialism in the USSR. The Third Programme of the CPSU outlined the prospects for the gradual transition from socialism to communism. It dealt with a wide set of problems ranging from the scientific grounding of the inevitable collapse of capitalism and the establishment of socialism to plans for the building of a communist society. These plans envisaged the attainment of three interconnected objectives: creating the material and technical basis for communism, developing communist social relations and educating the people in the spirit of communism.

The Programme set out the contemporary criteria and component elements of this material and technical basis. They included complete electrification of the country, comprehensive mechanisation and automation in industry, the extensive use of new developments in chemistry, the utmost application of new energy and material resources, and the organic combination of science with production processes. An essential condition for the building of communism alongside a modern industry was the creation of a fully developed agriculture. The state and collective farm system would be perfected in the course of building communism. The economic development of the collective farms would create the conditions whereby collective-farm property would draw closer and finally merge with state property owned by the whole people in a single form of communist property. The Programme referred to the historical nature of these criteria: "The material and technical basis will develop and improve continuously together with the evolution of society towards the complete triumph of communism."

The Programme set out the scientific laws governing the development of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the state of the whole people as a result of the victory of social-

ism. It also set forth the tasks of the Party in respect of the political organisation of society.

On the basis of the successes already achieved in solving the national question in the USSR, the Party set out the tasks required for the further development of national relations. These included the all-round development of the economies of the Soviet republics, the extension of their rights, the flourishing of socialist culture of all the nations and nationalities and their drawing closer together, the free development of the national languages, the consistent implementation of the principle of internationalism and the strengthening of friendship between all peoples of the USSR.

The special attention given in the Programme to education, ideology and culture is explained by the fact that in the present era there has been a marked increase in the influence of social consciousness on social being.

Communism is a social system which requires not only a highly developed economy, but also the conscious participation of the broad masses in social progress.

The CPSU Programme contained a thorough scientific analysis of the most important problems affecting mankind today. The building of communism in the USSR was considered in close relationship with developments taking place in the world at large. It defined the international significance of building communism in the USSR. To socialism and communism belongs a great historical mission—the ending of social inequality and all forms of oppression and exploitation, the elimination of the threat of war and the establishment on earth of Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality, Brotherhood and Happiness for all peoples.

Another great contribution to the social and political life of the country were the new Party Rules which were also adopted at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. Both the new Programme and the Rules state that the Communist Party, the party of the working class, had become a party of the whole Soviet people. The Party Rules were drawn up in conformity with the CPSU Programme.

The Soviet people greeted the decisions of the Congress with great enthusiasm and responded to them with a new upsurge of labour and political activity.

As the building of communism became more and more extensive, the functions of the Party became more and more important. This enhancement of its role at the new stage of the development of Soviet society was conditioned, as the decisions of the 21st and 22nd CPSU congresses emphasised, by the following:

— the growth of the scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction which demanded a higher level of political and organisational management;

— the growth of the creative activity of the masses and their growing involvement in running the state and the economy;

— the further development of socialist democracy, the growing role of the public organisations and the extension of the rights of the Union republics and of the local organs and enterprises;

— the growing importance of the theory of scientific communism, its creative development and propaganda and the need to step up the communist education of the working class as part of the struggle to overcome the vestiges of the past.

The consistent loyalty to the Party and adherence to its general line, the Leninist norms of Party life and the principles of Party leadership were demonstrated by the October 1964 Plenum of the Central Committee. The Plenum emphasised once more the growth of the guiding role of the Party in directing the forces of Soviet society and the consistency of its general line determined by the 20th, 21st and 22nd congresses. It was stated that the great cause of building communism required the undeviating implementation by the Party and the Soviet state of the principles and norms set down by Lenin, that had been tested, confirmed and enriched by the historical experience of many decades.

The Plenum acceded to the request of N. S. Khrushchev to be relieved of his duties as First Secretary of the Central Committee, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The Plenum considered it inexpedient henceforth for the posts of First Secretary of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers to be held by one and the same person.

L. I. Brezhnev was elected First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet appointed A. N. Kosygin Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The increase of Party influence on all aspects of the life of society was accompanied by an expansion of the sphere of activity and improvement in the work of the Soviet state and the public organisations.

The Party once more stated its opposition to simplistic ideas on the withering away of the state, pointing out that the dialectics of this process consists in the gradual development of the socialist state into communist self-government.

A characteristic expression of the organic links between the state and the people were the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which were, in the definition of the CPSU Programme, the all-inclusive organisation of the people, embodying their unity.

An effective means for the working people to control the work of their elected representatives was the right to recall those deputies, who had not justified the trust placed in them.

In October 1959 the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted a Law on the Procedure Governing the Recall of Deputies. From 1959 to 1961 similar laws were adopted in all the Union republics for the Soviets at all levels.

The result of these steps to invigorate the work of the deputies was the nationwide formation of groups of deputies whose purpose it was to examine the demands and requests of the working people. At the same time the number of standing commissions attached to the central and local Soviets grew considerably.

Party policy to improve the system of government required that the local Soviets play a much greater role.

In the late fifties and early sixties the competence of the territorial, regional and urban Soviets in the republics was extended to include such areas as budgeting and finance, industrial planning, the organisation of housing construction and the utilisation of output from local industry that was in excess of the plan. The rights of the local Soviets were considerably extended over the running of education, commerce and community services.

An important factor in improving the work of the Soviets was the expansion of voluntary work in the executive organs. In

1965 there were more than half a million volunteer enthusiasts working part time in the Soviet apparatus and some 40,000 of these were elected deputy chairmen of the executive committees of their local Soviets.

Public participation also increased in other sectors of the state development. Everywhere squads of volunteers were formed to help the militia in the maintenance of law and order.

More and more of the population were involved in the building of communism through the public organisations, particularly the trade unions and the Komsomol.

The Soviet trade unions now embraced the whole of the national economy. In 1965 they had a total membership of 80 million.

The trade unions participated directly in the organisation of socialist emulation and in deciding all matters relating to the living standards, labour conditions, education, everyday life of the working people. An important role in further improving their work was played by the 12th and 13th congresses of trade unions which were held in March 1959 and November 1963, respectively. Many important resolutions were adopted jointly by the Party, the Government and the All-Union Central Trade Union Council (AUCTUC).

The education of young people and their involvement in the building of communism were enormously promoted by the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League (Komsomol). The Komsomol also played an important role in helping solve the complex economic tasks set by the Party. At the appeal of the Komsomol hundreds of thousands of young people set out enthusiastically to work on the vast new construction projects, on the opening up of new regions and on the building of major industrial centres.

Directives for the Eighth Five-Year Plan

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU, which opened in Moscow in late March 1966, was an important landmark on the road of the Soviet people towards communism. For a month and a half before the Congress a nationwide discussion had taken place of the draft Directives for the new five-year plan.

The Congress discussed the Central Committee report, which was delivered by First Secretary of the CC CPSU L. I. Brezhnev, and the report of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers A. N. Kosygin on the Directives for the Eighth Five-Year Economic Development Plan for 1966-1970. The Congress also adopted a resolution on partial changes in the CPSU Rules and elected the Central organs of the Party.

The Resolution on the Central Committee Report noted: "In the period under review, the activity of the Party was based on the line defined by the 20th-22nd Congresses and was directed at fulfilling the Programme of the CPSU, at building the material and technical basis of communism, further perfecting socialist social relations and the communist education of the working people."

Having given an objective analysis of the results of the seven-year plan, the CPSU Congress discussed and set down the main guidelines for the economy over the next five years. The Party set the target of achieving new positions in the building of communism, of increasing the efficiency of social production, and of ensuring a rise in living standards of the working people and of the further strengthening the country's defence.

The total volume of planned capital investments in the economy amounted to almost 310 billion roubles and was 47 per cent more than in the previous five-year period. It was now intended to re-equip plants and factories, introduce mechanisation and automation and increase their specialisation. This made it possible to make considerable increases in productive capacity and output in a much shorter period and with much less expense than would be possible through the building of new enterprises.

The Party projected a comprehensive approach. The development of the economy was seen in close connection with other spheres of life, political, cultural and ideological. The Party stressed that the efficacy of communist education of the working people and the formation of the new man are to a considerable extent determined by increasing the effectiveness of social labour. And the political and intellectual level of the masses in its turn directly affects their productive capacity and, consequently, the economy.

Thus, the 23rd CPSU Congress developed Lenin's ideas and theses into an integral scientifically grounded system for the development of Soviet society. The decisions of the Congress, consequently, had the importance of a Party programme.

With regard to the specificity of the functions of the top Party bodies, the Congress renamed the Presidium of the Central Committee the Politburo of the Central Committee and restored the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee, which had been originally introduced under Lenin in 1922.

Considerable attention at the 23rd Party Congress was devoted to problems of communist education. A number of shortcomings and difficulties were revealed in ideological work. It was noted in particular that as a result of increasing pressure from bourgeois ideology and especially because of the rejection of certain views and ideas that had taken place in the USSR since the 20th Party Congress, the conditions for ideological work had become complex. At times there had been a subjective approach to matters of theory, Party history and the evaluation of certain events. The Congress was severely critical of all forms of scepticism and political indifference, of deliberate attempts to oppose the leadership to the collective, and of tolerance of alien views. The resolution of the Congress referred to the fact that "ideological work is being conducted in conditions of a sharp class struggle between the two opposing social and political systems in the world. The interests of socialism and communism require greater revolutionary vigilance on the part of Communists and all Soviet people, the exposure of the ideological sallies of imperialism against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries."

The decisions of the Congress received nationwide support and stimulated the political involvement and labour enthusiasm of the Soviet people.

Jubilee Celebrations

A year and a half after the 23rd CPSU Congress the Soviet people celebrated half a century of the victorious development of socialism in the USSR. To mark this jubilee the Party produced a report which summed up the experience amassed by the Soviet people so far in the process of building socialism.

In June 1967 a Plenum of the Central Committee approved the Central Committee theses entitled "The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution". The theses became a most important ideological document, in which the Party gave a thorough analysis of the results achieved over the last fifty years and set out the targets for building communism in the future.

The celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution became a demonstration of the moral and political unity of the Soviet people and the international solidarity of the working people. The flood of greetings that poured in from all over the world showed the high degree of respect and prestige enjoyed by the Soviet Union. Representatives of the working-class and communist movement, of the national liberation movement and the democratic movements from 95 countries, who came to the celebrations conveyed their feelings of love and friendship to the Soviet people.

On November 3-4, 1967 a joint Jubilee Session of the CPSU Central Committee and the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the RSFSR was held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. The session was attended by representatives of the working people and foreign guests. The report, which was entitled "Fifty Years of Great Achievements of Socialism", was delivered by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L. I. Brezhnev. "Centuries will go by, mankind will achieve heights surpassing even the most daring fantasy of our contemporaries and many events will be forgotten. But November 7, 1917, the day when the first victorious socialist revolution was accomplished, will always be kept alive in the memory of generations to come."[1]

The whole Soviet people celebrated the anniversary with feelings of pride in their country and in the Communist Party.

At the jubilee celebrations the results of the nationwide socialist emulation were announced. The victors were awarded special honorary medals and banners to mark the occasion.

In summer 1968 the CPSU Central Committee Resolution "On Preparations for the Centenary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin" was published. The political purpose of these celebrations was under-

[1] L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p. 8.

lined in the first words of this document: "The name of Lenin is inseparably linked with the entire modern history... Lenin's ideas inspire us in the struggle for the victory of communism".

An event of great ideological and political significance was the publication in December 1969 of the Central Committee Theses entitled "On the Centenary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin". These theses summed up the results of the theory and practice of Leninism from its origins to the early seventies.

The theses were given mass publication. They helped to clarify theoretical problems and concrete tasks in the building of socialism and communism, being at the same time a means of implementing the policy of the CPSU.

The All-Union Communist *Subbotnik*, which was held on April 11, 1970 to mark the jubilee was an expression of the high political consciousness and enthusiasm of the people. Altogether 120 million people participated in it.

The centenary of the birth of Lenin was marked by a joint session of the CPSU Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the RSFSR which was held in Moscow and attended by representatives of the working people and foreign guests. The session analysed the results of the struggle of the Soviet people for communism under the Leninist banner. The report which was entitled "Lenin's Cause Lives on and Triumphs" was delivered by General Secretary of the CC CPSU L. I. Brezhnev.

Lenin's jubilee was the cause of nationwide celebration. The Soviet people considered that the most worthy way to celebrate this memorable date was to hold a socialist emulation drive. The CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the AUCTUC awarded the collectives of 2,500 enterprises, organisations and state and collective farms that had won this competition with special Lenin Jubilee diplomas. Many Soviet citizens were awarded the medals "For Valorous Labour" and "For Military Valour" which contained representations of Lenin.

The jubilee celebrations for Lenin's Centenary were a clear demonstration of the solidarity of the Soviet people behind the Communist Party and a proof of the victorious might of Lenin's ideas.

In its analysis of the tasks for political and social development the Communist Party stressed especially the need to develop and strengthen Soviet democracy.

Of great importance for developing the political activity of the masses were the regularly held re-election of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Soviet democracy provides for the periodic renewal of the composition of bodies of power through the election of new people's representatives and cultivation of the art of government among the masses. It is characteristic, therefore, that more than half of the Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were new.

The representative character of the organs of Soviet power can be judged by the fact that among the deputies of the eighth Supreme Soviet 62 nationalities were represented. More than half of these were workers and peasants.

The Party and Soviet organs devoted special attention to strengthening the massive village and settlement Soviets. More than 110 million people lived on the territory served by these local Soviets, which contained hundreds of thousands of little communities, tens of thousands of collective and state farms and numerous social and cultural institutions. In March 1967 the CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution entitled "On Improving the Work of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies in the Villages and Settlements". This resolution significantly extended the rights of these local Soviets in the sphere of housing, and social and community services. It gave them greater freedom to dispose of the local budget in furthering industry, according certain tax reductions and exemptions, controlling observance of Soviet legislation, and the like.

A large group of activists formed behind the Soviets, whose number in 1970 amounted to 25 million, i.e., about 16 per cent of the adult population of the country (including just over two million deputies.)

The Party organically combined the expansion and development of socialist democracy with increased efforts to involve the broad masses of the people in the running of state affairs through

their local Soviets, while at the same time ensuring all the necessary conditions for this.

The development of government under the eighth five-year plan showed a clear tendency to increased specialisation. This required the setting up of coordinating central organs such as the Committee for Science and Technology, the Wages and Labour Committee, and the State Building Committee. As a result the rights of the Union republics and local organs were extended and a large number of enterprises, building projects and cultural institutions were put under their control.

The strengthening of centralised control over the running of society and the state was organically linked with the increased independence of the republican and local organs, the economic organisations and the enterprises. A demonstration of such democratisation was seen in the transfer of a number of functions from the executive leadership to the lower ranks of the state apparatus as well as the increased involvement of the public in running the affairs of society.

The vitally important functions of protecting Soviet society belong to such organs of the state apparatus as the courts, the Procurator's Office, the militia, the organs of state security and the army. During the 8th five-year plan period 80 billion roubles was spent on defence annually, which represented some 13-15 per cent of the annual state budget.

The experience amassed in the process of communist construction and the search for a rational system of state government showed that neither rigid centralisation nor decentralisation were effective by themselves. The necessary result could only be achieved if democratisation went hand in hand with the enhancement of the organising role of the state.

The whole political organisation of the Soviet system—its powerful, diversified state apparatus, its numerous public organisations and the Communist Party, which is the vanguard of the whole people—worked together in organic unity, directing its efforts towards the rapid and all-round progress of socialist society.

In 1970 the Communist Party had a membership of 14.4 million and was made up of 370,000 primary Party organisations. That is to say, approximately every eleventh person in the country over 18 years old was a Communist.

An active role in tackling economic problems and in educating the working people was played by the Soviet trade unions which in 1970 incorporated more than 93 million members. In spring 1968 the 14th Trade Union Congress was held. It played an important part in organising the working people for the successful fulfillment of the targets set under the eighth five-year plan, in developing the socialist emulation drive and in promoting the movement for a communist attitude to work.

The Leninist Komsomol, the tried and tested vanguard of Soviet youth, also increased its activity. In 1970 it had a membership of 28 million young men and women. During the eighth five-year plan more than 45 per cent of newly-admitted Party members came from the Komsomol. The Komsomol was now involved in organising such things as shock-worker Komsomol building brigades, proficiency competitions among young workers, student building detachments, youth production brigades and summer work and holiday camps.

In May 1966, the 15th Komsomol Congress, which took place on the heels of the 23rd Party Congress, was inspired by its guidelines and decisions. In October 1968 the country celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Leninist Komsomol. For the outstanding services and great contribution of the Komsomol members and of Soviet youth to the establishment of Soviet power, for their courage and heroism shown in battle with the enemy, for their active participation in the building of socialism and communism and for their fruitful work in the education of the younger generation in the spirit of devotion to the behests of Lenin the Komsomol was awarded the Order of the October Revolution. The Komsomol banner was now decorated with six orders. The highest state awards were also presented to the Komsomol organisations of the Ukraine as well as to forty provincial, urban, district and primary organisations.

In May 1970 the 16th Komsomol Congress was held to discuss the report of the Komsomol Central Committee and the tasks of the organisation as a whole in educating the youth of the country in the spirit of communism.

Apart from the largest public organisations of the working people, such as the trade unions, the Komsomol, and the coop-

eratives there were other public organisations which also continued to expand their work. These included the Znanie Society, various scientific and technical societies and sports and defence societies. At the same time new organisations also were formed, such as the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, which was founded in 1966.

Also vitally important was the work of such voluntary organs of the working people as the people's squads to help the militia to maintain law and order, the comrades' courts and people's control.

The Party has always maintained that there is no such a thing as "democracy" pure and simple. Democracy is a class concept. The purpose and content of Soviet democracy are considered by the Party to lie in the increasing mass participation in running the country and in the development of mass initiative for the successful advance to communism, for "the more profound the change we wish to bring about, the more must we rouse an interest and an intelligent attitude towards it, and convince more millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary".[1]

2. THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET STATE

The Development of Cooperation Between the Socialist Countries

At their new stage of development the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were successfully continuing their struggle for stable peace in the world, for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social and political systems, for the development of cooperation between peoples and for favourable international conditions for the building of communism.

With this aim in view the CPSU and the Soviet Government showed particular concern to strengthen the power of the socialist community. The Soviet Union gave primary importance to

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, December 22-29, 1920", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 498.

the development and expansion of all forms of cooperation with the socialist countries, based on the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and did everything in its power to strengthen the solidarity between the socialist states.

A very important place in the relations between the socialist-community countries was taken by meetings and contacts between the leaders of the fraternal parties and governments and by joint consultations and exchanges of opinion and experience. These meetings and talks made it easier for the socialist countries to pursue a coordinated policy on all radical problems affecting the present-day struggle against imperialism and for peace and security in the world.

An important role in the development of relations between the USSR and the other socialist countries was played by the treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance signed between them.

In November 1963 the twenty year Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and post-war cooperation, which was originally signed on December 12, 1943, was renewed. In June 1964 a treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation between the USSR and the German Democratic Republic was signed. In April 1965 a new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance was concluded between the USSR and Poland.

The bilateral and multilateral economic links between the Soviet Union and the socialist countries were raised to a higher level. Trade between them grew considerably as did their scientific, technological and cultural cooperation.

Cooperation between the socialist countries within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) was marked by new successes.

The Conference of Party and Government Leaders of the CMEA countries which was held in Moscow in 1962 approved the "Basic Principles of the International Socialist Division of Labour". According to the Basic Principles this division of labour, the aim of which is to increase the efficiency of social production, achieve high economic growth rates, raise the living standards of the working people in all the socialist countries and

gradually overcome the historically-formed differences in economic development levels between the socialist countries.

The Basic Principles promoted the coordination of the national economic plans of the CMEA member countries and the expansion of international specialisation and cooperation, the aim of which was the complete satisfaction of the growing demands of the CMEA countries for fuel, electric power, raw materials and the development of the chemical, electronics, machine-building and other advanced industries. As examples of such interstate cooperation we could cite the Mir international power grid, which linked up the power grids of the USSR, Hungary, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia (later these were joined by Romania in 1963 and Bulgaria in 1967) and which came into operation in 1962; and the Druzhba oil pipeline, one of the largest in the world, providing Soviet oil for Hungary, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia and coming fully into operation since 1964. Then there was the Intermetall organisation (founded in 1964) through which cooperation was effected between Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia on the development of the non-ferrous metallurgical industry. Also under the CMEA a number of international bodies have been set up like the Institute of Standardisation, the International Bank for Economic Cooperation and the Council of the Railway Wagon Pool.

In 1962 the People's Republic of Mongolia joined the CMEA. Since 1964 Yugoslavia has participated in a number of the CMEA bodies and representatives from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, People's Democratic Republic of Korea and Cuba have participated as observers.

There was an expansion of military cooperation between the socialist countries. It was their internationalist duty to strengthen the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, the collective defence organisation of the socialist states, which stands guard over the gains of socialism and peace.

It was at that time that the Mao Zedong ruling clique in China began to pursue a policy that markedly deviated from Marxism-Leninism and contradicted the principles of proletarian internationalism and the fundamental laws of the building of socialist society. In pursuit of this anti-Leninist, nationalist policy, the

Chinese leadership reduced to a minimum their economic ties with the majority of socialist states, particularly the USSR, and ceased all forms of political cooperation with them. In this way they did great damage to the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle.

A similarly unfriendly policy towards the USSR was pursued by the leadership in Albania, who had chosen to isolate themselves from the socialist community. All attempts on the part of the Soviet Union to normalise relations with China and Albania remained during the course of the sixties entirely fruitless.

The Further Growth of the Forces of Progress and Socialism

Particular importance in the struggle of the working people for progress and socialism under these new historical conditions was attached to ideologically arming the Communist parties and to consolidating the international communist movement.

An important landmark in further strengthening the communist movement was the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, which was held in Moscow in November 1960. The meeting was attended by delegations from 81 parties. The participants discussed problems of contemporary international development and the communist movement as they related to the joint struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. The meeting adopted the Statement of Communist and Workers' Parties and the Appeal to the Peoples of the World.

In the Statement the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties expressed their unanimous intention to do everything to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement and all revolutionary forces. "The situation demands," the Statement states, "ever closer joint efforts and resolute action on the part of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national anti-imperialist movement, all peace-loving countries and all peace champions to prevent war and assure a peaceful life for people. It demands the further consolidation of all revolutionary forces in the fight against imperialism, for national independence and for socialism."

During this period the economies of the capitalist countries continued to show instability. They were characterised by periodic slumps, inflation and monetary crises. Contradictions within the capitalist world intensified as also the competitive struggle and the tendency to adventurism in foreign policy. Militarisation of the capitalist economies continued as a result of the aggressive policies of the imperialist powers. The class struggle grew with waves of strikes spreading throughout the capitalist world and the peasant and general democratic movement against monopoly domination and reaction intensifying.

The outstanding event of the period was the victory of the revolution in Cuba. On January 1, 1959 the reactionary regime of the dictator Batista, a puppet of the American monopolies, was overthrown and a revolutionary government headed by Fidel Castro Ruz established. On January 10, 1959 this Government was recognised by the Soviet Union. Revolutionary Cuba was the first country in the western hemisphere to enter the road of socialist development. US imperialists immediately started a series of provocations and military ventures against the new socialist republic. Breaking off diplomatic relations with Cuba, the United States declared that the country had become a Soviet strategic base and presented a threat to the peace and security of all countries on the American continent. Through American efforts Cuba was expelled from the Organisation of American States.

The armed forces of the United States were put on full alert and on October 22, 1962 the President of the United States announced a naval blockade of Cuba. This was a serious threat to world peace.

At that moment the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, true to their internationalist duty, took decisive steps to uphold the freedom and independence of the revolutionary people of Cuba.

The Soviet Government warned that if the aggressors unleashed a war, the Soviet Union would retaliate in strength. As a result of the decisive action of the USSR, the other socialist countries and all champions of peace and progress, who came to the defence of Cuba, the American Government was forced to retreat and lift the blockade of Cuba.

A direct threat to world security was also created by US aggression in Vietnam. The United States blocked the reunification of Vietnam which had been envisaged by the 1954 Geneva Agreements and set up in South Vietnam an anti-popular puppet regime. It also helped set up and arm a "national" army of South Vietnam for the struggle against communism and sent there thousands of US soldiers.

The people of South Vietnam rose against the pro-American puppet regime in a struggle to bring unity and freedom to their country. In December 1960 the South Vietnam National Liberation Front was formed. In the course of the subsequent armed struggle patriotic forces had by 1965 liberated more than half of the territory of South Vietnam. The United States, now no longer expecting that the army of the puppet government in Saigon could win the war, sent in its own armed forces against the Vietnamese people. In February 1965 hostilities spread to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam which was subjected to systematic air attacks.

Throughout the world a vast movement arose in defence of the Vietnamese people. And in the front ranks of that movement stood the Soviet Union providing Vietnam with all the economic, military, material and moral support necessary to defeat aggression.

True to its Leninist foreign policy the Soviet Union consistently and resolutely supported the national liberation struggle against colonialism and promoted all-round cooperation with the states that had cast off the colonial yoke on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty and non-intervention into internal affairs.

At the 15th Session of the UN General Assembly in 1960 the Soviet Government presented a draft Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This draft declaration demanded the final liquidation of the colonialist regime and the immediate accordance of full independence and freedom to all colonial territories.

Thanks to the support which the draft declaration received from the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America these proposals of the Soviet Government were adopted by the General Assembly on December 14, 1960 by an overwhelming majority of

votes. The adoption of the declaration was an event of historical importance and a victory for Soviet foreign policy.

The all-round moral, political and economic support which the Soviet Union and the other socialist states provided to the newly-free countries is of invaluable significance in ridding them of the aftermath of colonialism, in helping them build a new life, in creating important branches of their national economies and in training their technical and scientific workers. During the first half of the sixties some six hundred industrial, agricultural and other projects (including the enormous Aswan Dam in Egypt) were under construction and more than one hundred educational and medical institutions and scientific centres were set up in the newly-independent states with Soviet assistance.

Thousands of young men and women from Asia, Africa and Latin America received higher education in the Soviet Union and mutually advantageous economic, commercial and cultural ties were successfully expanded between the USSR and the developing countries.

The Struggle of the USSR for Peace and the Relaxation of International Tension

In December 1959 on the initiative of the Soviet Government twelve states including the USSR, the United States, Britain and France concluded a treaty on making the Antarctic a zone of peace.

In its consistent pursuit of an effective solution to the problem of disarmament the Soviet Government put forward a new initiative at the 15th Session of the UN General Assembly in September 1960. It presented a document entitled Basic Provisions of a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament, which took into account the position of the Western powers on a number of important issues.

Consistently striving to ensure that the disarmament talks were carried out in earnest, the Soviet Union put forward a proposal in the summer of 1960 that the neutral states should also be invited. The 16th Session of the UN General Assembly (1961) approved the composition of a committee, which included the

representatives of five socialist and five Western states, members of the Committee of Ten, and the representatives of eight neutral countries.

The Soviet Government also worked to achieve the banning of nuclear weapons tests. Since the Western powers refused to conclude a comprehensive agreement on banning nuclear tests, the USSR expressed its readiness to conclude an agreement on the banning of nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. In July 1963 talks were held in Moscow between representatives of the USSR, the United States and Britain as a result of which the text of a treaty was agreed on banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. On August 5, 1963 the treaty was signed in Moscow by representatives of the three countries. Although the treaty did not include a ban on the underground testing of nuclear weapons due to the intransigence of the United States and Britain, its conclusion was nevertheless an important success for the forces of peace.

The conclusion of this treaty facilitated an agreement between the USSR and the United States banning the placing in orbit of space vehicles with nuclear weapons on board. On a proposal from the USSR the UN General Assembly endorsed this important treaty in a special resolution of October 17, 1963. It was subsequently developed in the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies which was signed by representatives of the USSR, the United States and Britain in Moscow, Washington and London simultaneously on January 27, 1967. The treaty itself was based on Soviet drafts.

In 1964 the Soviet Union presented to the 19th Session of the UN General Assembly concrete proposals for curbing the arms race and lessening international tension. These involved: reducing military budgets; withdrawing or reducing troops stationed in foreign countries; dismantling military bases on foreign soil; preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons; banning the use of nuclear weapons; creating non-nuclear zones in various parts of the world; destroying bomber aircraft; banning underground nuclear weapons tests; concluding a non-aggression pact between the NATO states and the Warsaw Treaty countries; preventing

the possibility of sudden attack and reducing the overall numerical strength of the armed forces.

The Soviet proposals formed the basis for discussion of international affairs at subsequent sessions of the UN General Assembly.

To safeguard peace and promote security throughout the world the Soviet Union drew up a draft Treaty on the non-proliferation of the nuclear weapons, and in September 1965 presented it to the UN General Assembly session.

The idea of concluding a nuclear arms non-proliferation treaty was widely supported by the overwhelming majority of states. The General Assembly adopted a resolution which stated that the treaty ought not to have any loopholes which could allow nuclear or non-nuclear powers to proliferate nuclear weapons in any form, directly or indirectly.

The Western powers, forced to reckon with the will and demands of the people, had to enter negotiations on the conclusion of such a treaty.

Since the end of the war the Soviet Union had tried consistently to achieve a peaceful solution to the German question and conclude a German peace treaty. But each time it tried, the constructive poposals of the Soviet Government came up against stubborn resistance from the Western powers to normalise the situation which had obtained since the end of the war. In January 1959 the Soviet Government sent the draft of a new peace treaty to the United States, Britain, France, the GDR, the FRG and all governments which had taken part in the war against Germany. In May 1960 a summit meeting was to have been held in Paris according to an agreement with the Western powers at which negotiations on the German question were to have been resumed. But this meeting was broken off.

After this the Western powers made the situation with regard to Berlin even more complicated with threats of war in answer to the proposals of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving states to clear up the aftermath of the Second World War and conclude a German peace treaty.

In view of the military preparations of the Western powers the Soviet Union and its allies under the Warsaw Treaty took supplementary defence measures in order to strengthen the po-

sition of the socialist community and frustrate the plans of the imperialists.

In August 1961 the German Democratic Republic in coordination with the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty states took a number of steps to ensure the security of its borders.

In January 1965 the members of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty proposed to hold a conference of European states to discuss collective security in Europe. They put forward a number of proposals designed to strengthen peace on that continent.

Strengthening the Forces of Progress and Democracy: 1966-1970

The second half of the sixties was marked by the further strengthening of the forces of progress and democracy throughout the world. Economic cooperation between the socialist countries was expanded. During this five-year period more than 300 major national-economic projects were built or reconstructed in the socialist countries with technological aid from the USSR. At the same time the USSR bought equipment for 54 chemical factories from the CMEA member-states. More than 38 per cent of ships which replenished Soviet merchant marine during this period had been built in the shipyards of the socialist countries. An increasing number of consumer goods were imported into the USSR from the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and other countries. The second stage of the Druzhba (Friendship) oil pipeline was laid. The coordination of national economic plans led to deeper specialisation and cooperation in production and the development of economic integration between the socialist-community countries.

One of the most important international developments of the period was the political crisis in Czechoslovakia, when anti-socialist forces supported by international imperialism launched an attack against the socialist system in Czechoslovakia. In 1968 counter-revolutionaries put increasing pressure on Right opportunists in the Communist Party leadership and the Government, and seized key positions in the state. Spreading hysterical national-

ism and anti-Sovietism they brought Czechoslovakia to the verge of a civil war. Socialism in Czechoslovakia was under threat.

In this urgent situation the Soviet Union together with the other European socialist countries in fulfillment of its class duty and through loyalty to the cause of proletarian internationalism and concern for the fate of socialism and peace in Europe decided to give internationalist aid to Czechoslovakia for the defence of socialism.

In August 1968 in answer to an appeal from Czechoslovak Communists and all the working people, troops from the USSR and the other socialist countries were sent into Czechoslovakia.

In 1970 a Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia gave the following assessment of the situation: "The entry of the allied troops of five socialist countries into Czechoslovakia was an act of international solidarity which was in the general interests of both the Czechoslovak working people and the international working class, the socialist community and the international communist movement. This internationalist act saved the lives of thousands of people, ensured the internal and external conditions for peaceful labour, strengthened the western borders of the socialist community and frustrated the hopes of imperialist circles to alter the results of the Second World War."

Healthy forces in the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the working class and the whole of Czechoslovak society closed their ranks, crushed the rightist elements and consolidated the position in the country.

Relations with the People's Republic of China were complex. The Chinese leaders launched a hostile propaganda campaign against the USSR and the CPSU and made territorial claims on the Soviet Union. In the summer and autumn of 1969 they went so far as to cause armed incidents on the Soviet-Chinese border. The Soviet Government did everything in its power to normalise relations with the People's Republic of China and in autumn 1969 talks were held in Peking on settling the border issues.

During the period under review class struggles in the capitalist countries intensified. In France and Italy the working class led the rest of the working people to put severe pressure to bear not only on individual groups of capitalists, but on the whole

system of state-monopoly control. In the United States the working-class struggle against the monopolies was accompanied by unprecedented actions by the Black population in support of equal rights. Imperialism came under increased attack from the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In many countries the struggle for national liberation practically developed into a struggle against exploiter relations, both feudal and capitalist.

In this complex situation the vanguard of the anti-imperialist forces, the world communist movement, closed its ranks in acute ideological struggle against right and "left" revisionism and against nationalist tendencies.

An important contribution to this was made by the Meeting of European Communist and Workers' Parties which was held in Karlovy Vary (Czechoslovakia) in April 1967. It was attended by delegations from 24 parties, all of whom signed the declaration entitled "For Peace and Security in Europe". The declaration outlined a full programme for the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe based on the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. After considerable preparatory work the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Moscow in 1969. This was a major step forward in the strengthening of the international unity of the communist movement and the consolidation of all anti-imperialist forces. The Moscow Meeting made a valuable contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory as it applied to the current situation in the world and adopted a comprehensive purposeful programme for the struggle against imperialism.

Against the background of the successes achieved by the forces of democracy and socialism, the difficulties experienced by the capitalist system were especially noticeable. Although capitalism was trying to adapt itself to the new situation in the world through utilising scientific and technological advances to strengthen its positions, this did not mean that capitalism was stabilising as a system. Serious economic upheavals continued to affect the capitalist world. By 1971 the developed capitalist countries had a total of 8 million unemployed. The contradictions between the imperialist states aggravated. An acute imperialist economic ri-

valry developed between the United States, the Western Europe primarily, the EEC countries, and Japan.

In these conditions the imperialist states continued their aggressive foreign policy course.

As a result of the activities of international imperialism a dangerous hotbed of war broke out in the summer of 1967 in the Middle East. The imperialist powers had been supplying Israel with military hardware in the form of tanks, planes and weaponry in the hope of turning Israel into their main force against the Arab people, destroying the progressive regimes in the Arab states and restoring their own positions there which had been lost as a result of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the Middle East.

On June 5, 1967 the Israeli Government began direct aggression against Egypt and other Arab states.

The Soviet Government instantly demanded the immediate ending of this aggression.

As a result of decisive action by the socialist countries Israel was compelled to cease hostilities, but before that it had succeeded in occupying a considerable part of the territory of Egypt, Jordan and Syria. The Israeli forces reached the Suez Canal and paralysed this important waterway.

On November 22, 1967 the UN Security Council adopted after long discussion a resolution envisaging the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories to the line held by them on June 5, 1967. But Israel, supported by international reactionary circles, continued its occupation of the Arab territories thus maintaining an extreme tension in the Middle East.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries worked insistently to remove the aftermath of Israeli aggression and restore peace and security.

But a fundamentally different line was pursued by reactionary forces in the West. Militarism intensified with the United States spending some 400 billion dollars on military needs in five years alone. In Indochina the American imperialists continued their aggression, expanding the war beyond Vietnam to Cambodia and Laos.

3. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THE SIXTIES

The Communist-Style Work Movement

Lenin pointed out many times that after a plan has been drawn up, the most important thing was to "be able to arouse both *competition* and *initiative among the masses*, so that they set about the job *straightaway*".[1] Guided by Lenin's principles the Communist Party took the necessary steps to organise a new upsurge in the creative activity of the working people.

Addressing the delegates to the 13th Komsomol Congress (April 1958), the Party called upon the youth to participate more actively in the socialist emulation drive for increased production and to learn to live and work in communist way. The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau passed a resolution to examine the experience of the advanced collectives and prepare suggestions for raising the labour and political activity of the youth through competition.

Socialist emulation was brought to a new and higher stage. The clearest demonstration of this was the initiative proposed by a group of workers from the Moscow marshalling yards. True to the traditions of their forbears, who in 1919 had organised the country's first Communist *Subbotnik*, these young Communists and Komsomol members suggested starting a competition for the title "Communist Work Team" under the slogan: "Learn to live and work in communist way!" The foremost workers here decided not only to strive for the regular overfulfillment of their plans and for high productivity of labour but also to try and systematically increase their cultural level and technological qualifications and conduct themselves both at work and in their private lives in conformity with the principles of communist morality.

Thus the movement for the title "Communist Work Team" was started. This new form of competition was called for by the

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "To G. M. Krzhizhanovsky", *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, 1973, p. 467.

whole course of the development of the Soviet economy, by the general raising of the educational and cultural level of the people and by the improvement of their living standards. The groundwork for it was laid by many years of experience in socialist emulation.

In a short time the movement had swept across the whole of the Soviet Union involving towns and villages, industry and agriculture, building and transport. The 21st CPSU Congress praised the Komsomol initiative and called upon the Party to give its all-round support to the development of new forms of communist labour. Party guidance at the centre and in the localities ensured the movement's rapid growth.

In early 1959 workers at the Donetsk machine-building plant named after the 15th anniversary of the Ukrainian Komsomol proposed the launching of a competition for the title "Communist Labour Shock-Worker". It soon began to develop into a competition among whole groups like production teams, shop floors, sections, shifts and even whole enterprises and collective and state farms.

The socialist emulation drive was given a further boost by the patriotic initiative of Valentina Gaganova. Working as a team-leader at the Vyshny Volochok Cotton Combine in 1958, she decided to leave her own team and take charge of another that was badly lagging behind so that with her experience she could make it an advanced team too. Without sparing herself and without thought for the loss she was sustaining in wages this young communist woman worked hard to make her new team enter the socialist emulation drive, catch up its lost ground and eventually become one of the best at the factory. Through the agency of the press this achievement was made known to the whole country and Valentina Gaganova was awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labour. By the end of 1961 some 50,000 other front-rank workers had taken over backward sections and were making enormous steps forward in the work of these sections.

In May 1960 an All-Union Conference of advanced brigades and communist labour shock-workers, which was attended by 2,500 participants, was held in Moscow. The conference made it possible to analyse and sum up the experience gained and to outline further ways to develop forms of communist labour. By this

time the number of those involved in the competition was in excess of five million and the honorary title had been awarded to plants, factories, mines, collective and state farms as well as to individuals and teams.

After the All-Union Conference in the Kremlin the Party organisations, and under their guidance, the trade unions and the Komsomol increased the dissemination of the experience of the foremost workers throughout the country as a whole. As the time drew near for the 22nd CPSU Congress the socialist emulation drive was conducted on an even greater scale. By October 1961, the number of those involved in the urban and rural areas reached approximately the 20 million mark.

Thus the movement that was begun by the Komsomol in a very short time was involving the whole country. It became the highest form of socialist competition under contemporary conditions and accelerated the building of the material and technical basis of communism.

The Growth of the Country's Industrial Potential under the Seven-Year Plan (1959-1965)

In consolidating the upsurge of labour endeavour among the working class and the whole of the working people, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government implemented a number of measures at the outset of the seven-year plan that were designed to accelerate technological progress throughout all spheres of production. In July 1960 the Central Committee of the CPSU examined the course of fulfillment of the seven-year plan in the sphere of industry. At the centre of attention was the problem of introducing scientific and technological achievements into production.

In 1959 the All-Union Society of Rationalisers and Inventors was instituted. In 1960 a special resolution was passed on improving the whole system of introducing inventions and proposals for rationalisation in the national economy. Henceforth the enterprise managements were obliged to include the most important innovatory suggestions in their production plans. Thus the prob-

lem of financing technological innovations was resolved. The implementation of new discoveries was made just as important as the daily struggle to fulfill the plan. In autumn 1980 a system of bonuses was introduced for the development and introduction of new technology.

But alongside material incentives to encourage innovation the Government instituted in 1961 the honorific titles "Merited Rationaliser" and "Merited Inventor". Work collectives enhanced their work to tap and utilise the internal production resources. At the enterprises commissions began work on the problem of promoting technological progress.

Wage reform, the improvement of work conditions, the introduction of a reduced working week, the mass dissemination of new forms of socialist emulation, and the organisation of schools of advanced experience and all kinds of courses for improving qualifications—all this contributed to increasing the cultural and technological level of the working people and involving them in the process of technological creation.

In 1960 the last step was made in the transformation of the producers' cooperatives, which were originally formed in the early years of socialist construction to effect the smooth transition of a large number of petty-producers from fragmented primitive production to machine industry. After the producers' cooperatives were merged with the state sector, 1.4 million former artel members joined the ranks of the Soviet factory and office workers.

The greatest successes in industry were associated with an accelerated development of oil and gas industry, the extensive introduction of automation and the building of enormous power stations and non-ferrous metallurgical combines. In December 1960 the Volgograd hydro-electric power station, the largest in the world at that time, was put into operation twelve months ahead of scedule. In 1961 the Bratsk hydro-electric power station, which was even bigger, was opened. At the same time construction was also being carried out on a large network of thermal electric power stations.

The turn of the sixties was marked by yet another important innovation. The first vibrorolling installation for the manufacture of large-size pre-fabricated ferro-concrete blocks was completed

in Moscow by N. Ya. Kozlov. This was the most advanced development in the building industry, permitting the pre-fabrication of 9, 12 and 25 storey-high buildings, with the result that the Soviet Union assumed the leading place in the world in housing development.

One after another new projects in the metallurgical industry came into operation like blast furnaces with 2,000 cu m capacity and equipped with all the latest technology.

Enormous steps forward were made in the field of transport. In autumn 1961 the first train arrived in Moscow to have travelled along the world's largest electrified railway from Moscow to Baikal, a distance of 5,500 kilometres. At the same time the world's largest passenger hydrofoil *Sputnik* also arrived in the capital. Aeroflot, the USSR's national airline, had by now outstripped every other country in the world in terms of its volume of passenger transport with approximately 100,000 passengers travelling per day.

In the same year Soviet viewers saw for the first time television broadcasts from abroad, and the May Day celebrations from Moscow were broadcast to Western Europe.

The arms race pursued by the imperialists forced the Soviet Government into holding new hydrogen weapons tests. These tests went off successfully thereby reaffirming the power of the country's science and technology.

The results of the initial stage of the seven-year plan, which were analysed in October 1961 at the 22nd CPSU Congress, demonstrated the rapid consolidation of the Soviet Union's industrial potential. From 1959 to 1961 some three thousand major enterprises were opened and 44 new towns built. Now in addition to Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev three other cities, Baku, Gorky and Tashkent also became major industrial and administrative centres with populations of over one million. The plans in the sphere of industry were overfulfilled, and this made it possible in 1960 to allocate considerable resources to the textile and footwear industries providing them with machinery and raw materials. In 1961 it was decided to increase the target figures for the concluding year of the seven-year plan.

Through their response to the decisions of the 22nd CPSU Congress and their implementation of the Party Programme the

working class achieved great success in the creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

Soon after the 22nd Congress the first oil fields where extraction was fully automated were put into operation in Tataria. In summer 1962 the first stage of the Mikhailovsky Iron Ore Combine at the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly was opened. In March 1962 a powerful oil gusher was struck near the village of Markovo on the banks of the Lena. This was the first oil to come from Siberia. A year later oil and natural gas were being extracted at Tyumen and by the following year it was being used to fuel the blast furnaces of the Urals.

After the completion of the Bratsk power station in 1964 it became the largest of its kind in the world. In March 1963 the Yenisei was dammed for the building of the Krasnoyarsk hydroelectric power station that was to be even bigger.

Increased attention was devoted to economic work. Industrial amalgamations specialising in one individual line were made to lower non-productive expenses.

After the 22nd CPSU Congress a special rubric was introduced in the central newspapers and journals to discuss the problems connected with economics of production in individual enterprises and the USSR as a whole. Increased attention to economic matters affected the organisation of socialist emulation. More and more pledges were made to improve economic indicators—lowering production costs, etc.

In April 1963 the All-Union Conference of shock-workers and members of communist work teams was held in Moscow. The delegates represented 23 million competitors. The conference made an important contribution to the enhancement of economic work.

On the whole the economic changes that took place in the period 1962-1964 like those in the previous three years attested to the rapid economic development of the country. But after 1961 development rates slowed down in contradiction to the target figures established at the beginning of the seven-year plan and even more to the increased targets which were outlined in 1961. In accordance with the decisions of the October and November (1964) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee work began on drawing up concrete measures to improve the guidance of and

further develop the national economy. Particular attention was devoted to the correct combination between centralised planned control and the development of initiative and independence in the localities.

The September 1965 Central Committee Plenum discussed on the basis of experience so far accumulated the need to improve the forms and methods of industrial management. The Plenum noted the radical shortcomings of the economic council (sovnarkhoz) system of government and the general defects in the current system of planning, price-formation and the provision of material incentives. The complete departure from the sectoral principle had resulted in a reduced level of industrial management, violated the integrity of technological policy and given rise to multi-staged management. The Party set itself the task of implementing an economic reform which would contain a whole series of measures to raise the scientific level of planning, strengthen economic incentives and increase the independence of the enterprises.

Although the current system of management and planning was maintained until the end of 1965, the decisions taken in March on agriculture and in September on industry opened broad vistas for the development of the Soviet economy.

All in all during the seven-year plan period industrial production funds had more than doubled. Gross industrial output had risen 84 per cent as against 80 per cent envisaged under the plan. As has already been noted oil and gas predominated in the country's fuel balance. Now 85 per cent of railway engines were diesel or electric (as against 26.4 per cent in 1958). In 1965 some 42 million passengers travelled by Aeroflot, which was more than five times as many as in 1958, while Soviet merchant marine moved from the twelfth to the sixth place in the world in terms of the amount of cargo carried.

The rapid industrial development of the country was accompanied by a growth in the urban population, which in 1961 became larger than the rural population for the first time ever. The number of industrial and office workers rose from 56 to 77 million and together with their families they constituted more than 75 per cent of the population.

Economic Reform and the Targets of the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1966-1970)

The new five-year plan to cover the period from 1966 to 1970 was drawn up during the preparation period for economic reform.

The very course of economic development demanded the further improvement of production relations and the determination of such forms of planned economic management, as would correspond to the current level of productive forces and open the way to scientific and technological progress. With this aim in view the measures outlined at the September 1965 Plenum envisaged the reorganisation of industrial management, the restructuring of planning and the introduction of a new system of economic incentives.

It was decided from January 1, 1966 to restore the sectoral principle of management, abolish the economic councils and form industrial ministries at the all-Union and Union-republican level. The intention was to make all-round use of the positive experience gained both by the former ministries and the economic councils, which had existed from 1957 to 1965.

During the seven-year plan the smaller enterprises had been merged and large sectoral amalgamations had been formed. This process was to be continued. It was also proposed to utilise the positive experience of the regional material and technical supply bodies. To achieve this purpose a State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Material and Technical Supplies was set up with a broad network in the localities. Measures were also taken to combat the squandering of resources through numerous centres and offices belonging to the different sectoral ministries. To combine sectoral and territorial planning in the economic regions the planning commissions were retained and the rights of the Union republics in the sphere of planning were extended.

The Central Committee laid down three main guidelines for improving the forms of the planned management of the economy and the methods of running the enterprises. These included raising the scientific level of state planning, increasing the economic independence and initiative of the enterprises, strengthen-

ing the system of cost accounting and enhancing the role of economic incentives by such means as prices, profits, bonuses and credit.

One important measure was the reduction of the number of planned indicators established from above. The main indicator for work of individual enterprises and in all industries was no longer the volume of gross output, but the volume of output sold. To increase the interest of the collectives in the better utilisation of production funds, payment for these funds was introduced. At the same time three material stimulation funds (the production development fund, the social, cultural and housing fund and the material incentive fund) were set up and paid for by the profits from the enterprise.

In October 1965 a new Statute of the industrial enterprise was adopted. It provided a detailed and clear outline of its rights and duties in the new conditions.

All of this was designed to combine centralised guidance with increased economic initiative in the localities and to raise the material interest of both production collectives as a whole and each worker individually in the results of their work. The Party emphasised that one of the main tasks of the 1965 economic reforms and indeed the very condition for this reform was the need to involve the masses of the working people in the day to day economic running of the country.

The eighth five-year plan was designed as a new step on the path to the creation of the material and technical basis of communism and the strengthening of the economic and defence capabilities of the USSR. Under the economic reform particular attention was given to intensive methods of economic development. This meant that the social product and the national income were to rise not so much as a result of increasing capital investment in building and commissioning new capacities as through the better utilisation of existing production.

Industry and Transport under New Conditions

In January 1966 the economic councils were abolished and industrial and building management was again carried out on the sectoral principle through the appropriate ministries. At the

same time the first 43 plants and factories in 20 towns across the country went over to the new system of economic management.

The first year of the new experiment showed that the reform had a beneficial influence on the work of all industrial enterprises. When each worker was encouraged to increase his output through material incentives and when the size of the material incentive fund depended upon the amount of goods sold by a given plant or factory, there was a constant search for new ways to increase output and make supplementary profits. Such sources were the scientific organisation of labour, the economy of resources and materials and technological improvements.

The economic reform was carried out on the basis of stable wholesale prices for industrial goods set by the state. Throughout 1967 the new prices spread to all sectors of light and heavy industry. In the same year a Council of Ministers' resolution was adopted on the material responsibility of the enterprise or organisation for failure to fulfill targets and obligations. It substantially increased the role of the economic agreements concluded between enterprises and this had a beneficial effect on industry as a whole.

In 1967 whole industries went over to the new system of planning and economic stimulation. It was also introduced in rail, water and road transport.

The year 1967 was marked by great successes in the development of Soviet metallurgy. Production during that year was in excess of 100 million tons. The first units of the largest hydro-electric power station in the world at Krasnoyarsk each of which was equal in capacity to the hydro-electric power station on the Dnieper, came into operation. Work was also completed on the first stage of the world's largest gas pipeline from Central Asia to Central Russia. At the Krivoi Rog metallurgical plant the largest blast furnace in the world came into operation. In Moscow the Television Studios at Ostankino were completed with their tower, the highest in the world, rising more than half a kilometre into the air. Each of these achievements reflected the successes of Soviet industry as a whole.

On the eve of the new five-year plan groups of front-rank workers at plants in Moscow and Leningrad began a drive for

economy and thrift in the utilisation of raw materials and equipment, "Produce More, Better and Cheaper"—this was the slogan taken up by the many participants in the movement for a communist attitude to work. The vast scale of socialist emulation during the jubilee year of 1967 resulted in the plan for the first two years being fulfilled ahead of schedule. The experience amassed during this period confirmed the correctness of the policy of introducing into industry and transport the new systems of planning and providing material incentives.

Boosting the Production of Consumer Goods

The successful beginning of the eighth five-year plan made it possible to increase the living standards of the Soviet people even further. The concrete programme for this was drawn up by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In implementing the programme the state almost doubled the consumption fund between 1966 and 1970 as compared with what it had been between 1961 and 1965. Real per capita income increased by 33 per cent instead of the planned 30 per cent under the eighth five-year plan. (Between 1961 and 1965 this increase had been only 19 per cent.) The average monthly wages of the industrial and office workers rose by 26 per cent. At the same time the minimum wage was raised to 60 roubles per month. Income tax was also lowered for certain categories and the five day working week with two days off was instituted. Working people's holidays were increased. Pay for collective farm workers rose 42 per cent and by 1970 the number of those in receipt of a pension was 42 million.

In July 1964 the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a resolution on introducing a single system of old age-security for collective farmers. In 1968 they were given the right to receive old-age pensions in the same way as industrial and office workers, i.e., at the ages of 60 for men and 55 for women. The role of the social consumption funds, as one of the main sources for increasing the living standards of the people, rose substantially. In absolute terms (per capita) payment from the social consump-

tion funds increased from 182 roubles in 1965 to 262 roubles in 1970. Thus, with the addition of various payments and privileges the average monthly wages of office and industrial workers amounted in 1970 to 164 roubles.[1]

The housing programme was marked with new successes, which were directly the result of new industrial developments in building. Between 1966 and 1970 almost 55 million people were given new flats.

There was a noticeable increase in the public demand for foodstaffs and consumer goods. Trade turnover during the eighth five-year plan grew approximately by 50 per cent with the sharpest increases in demand being for consumer durables such as refrigerators, televisions, electric household appliances, etc. To satisfy the rapidly growing demands of the working people, the Party and the Government took steps to ensure the appropriate restructuring of industrial production and priority was given to the development of the consumer goods industries.

In 1966 and 1967 the growth rates for heavy and light industry approximated very closely to each other. All in all during the five-year plan there was a general increase in industrial production of 50 per cent. Production of the means of production rose by 51 per cent and production of consumer goods by 49 per cent. This helped to improve national economic proportions and establish the correct correlation between industry and agriculture and the consumption and the accumulation funds.

Improving the Methods of Economic Management

The increasingly extensive introduction of economic reform made it possible to improve the utilisation of the production funds, increase the return on funds and lower the cost of production. Under the eighth five-year plan the profits of the enterprises more than doubled.

By the end of the eighth five-year plan when the overwhelm-

[1] If we take wage payment alone, then the average monthly earnings of industrial and office workers were about 78 roubles in 1958, over 96 roubles in 1965 and 122 roubles in 1970.

ing majority of industrial enterprises were working under the new system and new methods had been introduced into building, particular importance became attached to factors related to scientific and technological progress and improving the organisation of labour. There was an increased need for new methods of economic management not only in the individual enterprises, but in the national economy as a whole.

In May 1968 the All-Union Economic Conference was held to discuss improving economic management. In the recommendations made by the conference it was suggested that the role of the economic agreements be increased in the drawing up and carrying out of plans, that the influence of cost accounting on the work within the enterprises be strengthened and that the experience of the advanced collectives which had showed themselves to be the most successful in the new conditions should be broadly spread.

An experiment that was begun in 1967 at the Shchyokino Chemical Combine received wide support across the country. More material incentives were introduced for industrial and office workers to encourage them to increase their output, while the overall work force was reduced. The administration was authorised to use part of the savings from the reduced personnel to provide bonuses for those who did the increased amount of work. In other words they were raising the productivity of labour. The first two years of this experiment brought about an output increase of more than 80 per cent.

Of great importance was the introduction under the eighth five-year plan of quality assessment and the award of the state quality mark. By 1971 more than 2,500 of the most important types of goods produced by Soviet industry had been awarded this mark. It signified that in terms of technological level and quality of production the goods were among the finest of their kind produced in the world. Enterprises producing such goods were naturally able to provide more material incentives for their workers, for the output of quality production meant additional profit. Thus turbines, electric motors, marine diesels, television sets, radio sets and many other items possessing the state quality mark are in high demand both in the USSR and in many countries of the world.

Of immense economic importance was the widespread use of computers in production management. The mass introduction of the latest scientific and technological developments and the improved organisation of labour allowed the productivity of social labour to rise by 37 per cent as against 29 per cent in 1961-1965. Raising the productivity of labour led to almost a 75 per cent increase in industrial production (as against 62 per cent in the seventh five-year plan).

As before the successful fulfilment of the plan was directly due to the socialist emulation drive. In 1966 the AUCTUC passed a decision to improve the organisation of the movement for a communist attitude to work and to give full support to the mass dissemination of other forms of competition.

This had a positive effect on the creative endeavour of the masses during the period of preparations for the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The achievements scored by those participating in the socialist emulation drive were part and parcel of the general upsurge of national endeavour which accompanied preparations for the centenary of the birth of Lenin. By April 22, 1970 thousands of work collectives had fulfilled their increased obligations; some worked that day on raw materials they saved, others completed their half-yearly plan by the centenary date and others still reached labour productivity targets outlined for the end of the plan.

During the preparations for Lenin's centenary the initiative launched by workers, who in 1919 had organised the first communist *subbotnik,* once again manifested itself with renewed force. Lenin wrote "We shall work for years and decades practising subbotniks, developing them, spreading them, improving them and converting them into a habit. We shall achieve the victory of communist labour."[1] In 1969 millions of Soviet people took part in the *subbotnik* dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the first communist *subbotnik*. Continuing this tradition on April 11, 1970 the working people held an all-Union communist *subbotnik* to commemorate Lenin's jubilee. The creative activity of the

[1] V. I. Lenin, "From the First Subbotnik on the Moscow-Kazan Railway to the All-Russia May Day Subbotnik", *Collected Works,* Vol 31, p. 125.

masses resulted in the early fulfilment of the 1970 national economic plan and thus also in the successful fulfilment of the eighth five-year plan.

The results of the eighth five-year plan showed that industry had developed at high and stable rates. In first place (according to development rates) were machine building, particularly instrument making and electronics, the chemical and petro-chemical industry and electric power generation, i.e., those branches of the national economy which have the greatest effect on technological progress. The total power output for 1970 reached 740 billion kilowatt hours. The annual increase in electric power was now greater than the total output before the Great Patriotic War. The power network in the European part of the USSR was now merged in an integral power grid with that of the Urals. Oil and gas now represented 60 per cent of the country's fuel. In the production of steel the USSR now equalled that of the US and in pig iron became the world's largest producer.

Soviet construction workers marked the eighth five-year plan with such feats as the building of the world's largest hydro-electric power station at Krasnoyarsk and the start of construction work on the even larger Sayano-Shushenskaya power station. In Togliatti (the Kuibyshev Region) work was begun on the Volga Automobile Plant, which was designed to turn out 660,000 vehicles per year. And only 40 months after the planners had begun work designing the plant the first Zhiguli (Lada) cars came off the production line. In the chemical industry the workers fulfilled their obligations ahead of time, and new blast furnaces and convertors were also put into operation. A gigantic floating bridge was built to connect the railways of Transcaucasia and Central Asia. The construction workers who laid the oil and gas pipelines also fulfilled their obligations.

It must be emphasised further, that these successes were all achieved in an atmosphere of increasing international tension. The need to carry out supplementary defence measures meant that resources and manpower had to be redistributed to bolster this sphere. But even in these conditions the Soviet state fulfilled the directives of the 23rd CPSU Congress to develop the country's industrial potential. It substantially accelerated the production of consumer goods and in the final analysis fulfilled the

programme which provided for a considerable increase in the living standards of the working people.

The policy to make general improvements in the methods of socialist economic management made it possible under the eighth five-year plan to take an important step forward in the economic competition of the two world systems.

During the course of the sixties the USSR doubled its national income. The United States had achieved this in 20 years, Britain in more than 30 years, and the FRG, in almost 15 years. The USSR did it in a decade. To double industrial production the United States had taken 18 years, Britain 22 years, the FRG more than 11 years. The Soviet Union did this in eight and a half years.

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE DURING THE SIXTIES

The Successes and Difficulties of the Early Sixties

The 21st CPSU Congress set the agricultural workers of the country the extremely difficult task of increasing gross agricultural output by 70 per cent so as to satisfy the continually growing demands of the country for food and agricultural raw materials. This was to be achieved primarily through raising crop yields and livestock productivity.

The prospects for agricultural development were widely discussed at meetings of collective- and state-farm workers throughthe country. Each collective determined its targets and what they could do to contribute to fulfilling the decisions of the Party. This promoted the growth of socialist emulation in the countryside.

Among the first agricultural collectives to be awarded the honorific title Collective of Communist Work were the mechanised teams led by V. A. Svetlichny and V. Ya. Pervitsky. Thanks to their skilful use of land and machinery these collectives achieved high crop yields at reduced production costs.

Following the example of Valentina Gaganova the leaders of

many advanced teams, farms, collective farms and state farms took charge of the backward sections so as to bring them up. In Uzbekistan a collective-farm worker, T. Akhunova, qualified as an expert machine operator, then worked on a combine harvester in the cotton fields and finally took charge of a tractor brigade. Following her example thousands of women learned how to operate all kinds of complex farm machinery.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government also took the necessary steps to strengthen the material and technological basis of the collective and state farms. From 1961 capital investment in agriculture was notably increased, being twice as much in the period 1961-1965 as in the previous five-year period. Collective and state farms were given more mineral fertilizers and in 1961 the prices of tractors, other agricultural machinery and spare parts were reduced.

By the end of the seven-year plan the machinery situation on the farms had considerably improved. In 1965 there were more than 1,613,000 tractors as against 1,001,000 in 1958. At the same time the number of combine harvesters and trucks had also increased. Electric power was now being used on a much wider scale on the fields. Furthermore, the quality of equipment was better with new types of machines being used according to the different soil and climatic conditions.

The general level of agricultural mechanisation made it possible for such essential farm work as ploughing, sowing and harvesting to be fully mechanised, although in a number of areas there was still a shortage of qualified men and machinery with the result that here sowing and harvesting took longer and consequently gross yields were down. Livestock rearing was also poorly mechanised, particularly on the collective farms. Here the most labour intensive work was carried out by hand. During the late fifties the collective farms began to be enlarged. With the small and weaker collectives joining those that were economically stronger an overall rapid increase in collective farm production was made possible. The state farms were also enlarged.

The concentration of land utilisation, means of production and labour resources under the scientific and technological revolution was unavoidable and had on the whole a positive effect. In 1965 each collective farm had an average of 421 holdings and 2,900

hectares of sowing area. These were fairly large-scale enterprises with all the resources for efficient farming.

As a result of enlargement and the transformation of some collective farms into state farms the overall number of collective farms was reduced from 69,100 in 1958 to 30,900 in 1965. During the same period the number of state farms almost doubled. Thus the contribution made by the state farms to agricultural production and particularly to state procurement of agricultural produce was noticeably increased.

The organisational measures that were carried out in the late fifties and early sixties—the reorganisation of the machine and tractor stations, the enlargement of the collective farms and the transformation of part of them into state farms—were of positive social and economic importance. But these measures alone could not ensure the planned growth of agricultural production. At the same time demands rose annually for more agricultural produce as a result of the country's growing population. This gave rise to great concern in the Party and the Soviet Government. In January 1961 the agricultural situation was discussed at a Central Committee Plenum, which decided to raise capital investments above those provided for in the plan, expand irrigation and drainage in the excessively dry or excessively humid regions of the country and increase the production of chemical fertilizer.

In accordance with the decisions of the Plenum measures were taken to strengthen the agricultural work force and improve their skills. Specialists that had graduated from higher or secondary specialised educational institutes were sent to the collective and state farms, schools of advanced experience were organised and economic seminars and courses were held. During the winter months of 1962 the mass training in professions of mechanics and machinery operators was begun in the villages. These measures had a positive effect on collective and state farming. But they were not sufficient. Furthermore the development of agriculture was negatively affected by subjectivism among the management, shortcomings in the organisation of state procurement of agricultural produce and deficiencies in the pricing policy. Current state purchase prices were inadequate due to the growing expenditure on production in the collective farms and they did not provide any material incentive for the collective farmers.

The growth in agricultural production that was noted after the September Central Committee Plenum in 1953 slowed down during the seven-year plan. Furthermore, weather conditions in 1963 and 1965 were also unfavourable.

The March 1965 Plenum of the Central Committee

At the end of the seven-year plan decisive measures were required to improve the agricultural situation and put right the mistakes and shortcomings in the management of this vitally important sector of the national economy.

In March 1965 the Central Committee Plenum met to discuss the situation in agriculture and L. I. Brezhnev's report entitled "On Urgent Measures to Ensure the Further Development of Agriculture". The Plenum emphasised the need to pay greater heed to and utilise more fully the economic laws of socialism in agricultural management, enhance the role of the economic levers in agricultural production and, grant greater independence to the collective and state farms in running their economies. The Plenum drew up a new system for state procurement of agricultural produce. A firm procurement plan that was somewhat lower than the previous one and that would last until 1970 was established and state purchase prices for basic agricultural produce were considerably raised. For agricultural produce in excess of the plan supplementary payments were made: for wheat and rye, for example, these supplementary payments amounted to 50 per cent of the basic purchase price. These measures were an important component of the overall economic reform, which the Party set about implementing in 1965.

The Plenum resolutely condemned the arbitrary administrative methods sometimes used by the collective and state farm management and stressed the need for the all-round development of democratic principles of management in agriculture. Measures were outlined for strengthening the material and technological basis of agriculture. The decisions of the March Plenum were an important contribution to the formulation of the Party's agrarian policy for the building of communism. They ushered in a new stage in the life of the countryside. The decisions were wide-

ly discussed in the Party organisations and in the collective and state farms and gave rise to a great upsurge in political and production activity of the agricultural workers.

Already in 1965, despite adverse weather conditions almost 15 per cent more was paid for agricultural produce sold to the state and to cooperative and state trading organisations than in the previous year. The collective farms benefited greatly from the reduction of prices on agricultural machinery and spare parts and on electric power relayed to the collective and state farms. The collective farms were relieved from paying off interest on loans received and the state farms were put fully onto the new system of cost accounting with its new conditions of planning and providing material incentives.

To encourage the development of the subsidiary economies of the collective farmers the state removed the unjustified limitations which had been put on them in previous years.

The measures taken in 1965 could not significantly affect the overall results of the whole seven-year plan. The difficulties and mistakes made during this period resulted in gross agricultural output for the period 1959-1965 rising only by 14 per cent instead of the 70 per cent envisaged under the plan. The numbers of livestock and meat production rose by approximately 30 per cent and milk production by 20 per cent.

Of particular concern to the Party and the state was the fact that despite increases in technological aid to the countryside, the introduction of new technology and the broader application of fertilizer, the yield of cereals, cotton and potatoes grew very slowly. In the first half of the sixties it barely differed from the indicators of the previous five-year plan (average yield of cereals was little more than 10 centners per hectare). It is true that gross yields were higher. Between 1961 and 1965 they were on average 130,300,000 tonnes per year. But this level was still far too low and furthermore only achieved thanks to the utilisation of virgin lands.

In view, therefore, of this situation the Party set about implementing the decisions taken in March 1965.

Strengthening the Material and Technological Basis

The measures outlined at the March 1965 Plenum of the Central Committee were particularised in the Directives for the five-year (1965-1970) national economic development plan which were adopted by the 23rd Party Congress. The main objective in agriculture consisted in making significant increases in agrarian and livestock production and ensuring high and stable development rates through the intensification of all sectors of agriculture. The annual average volume of agricultural production was planned to be increased between 1966 and 1970 by 25 per cent in comparison with that of the previous five-year plan.

In view of the importance of agriculture for fulfilling the tasks of communist construction, the Central Committee devoted considerable attention to this branch of the national economy. At a number of Plenums held between 1966 and 1970 a long-term comprehensive programme for agricultural development was drawn up. The implementation of this programme would guarantee high and stable growth rates. The May 1966 Plenum of the Central Committee set out measures for land improvement to increase its fertility, which included irrigation of the sowing areas in the arid regions, draining the land in marshy areas and planting trees and taking other steps to prevent soil erosion. The cost of these improvements was to be borne entirely by the state.

An important condition for the intensification of agricultural production was the strengthening of its material and technological basis. The October 1968 Plenum of the Central Committee discussed the way in which the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress were being implemented in agriculture and outlined measures to increase deliveries of machinery and mineral fertilizer to the collective and state farms. The main guidelines for this and the rates at which it should take place over a long period were laid down by the July 1970 Plenum of the Central Committee.

In fulfillment of the Party's decisions the working class annually increased the production of various types of machinery for the collective and state farms. By 1970 there were some two million tractors and 623,000 combine harvesters.

Almost all the collective and state farms had been electrified taking their electric power from the state power grids. The basic agricultural works—ploughing, sowing and harvesting—were now fully mechanised, but there was still not enough machinery to complete these works in the periods most favourable for them according to agro-technological science. Livestock rearing was also far from sufficiently mechanised.

More mineral fertilizer was now available. In 1970, for example, there was 70 per cent more than in 1965.

During the eighth five-year plan more than three million hectares of marshland were drained and hundreds of thousands of hectares of arid land irrigated. New powerful irrigation systems were in operation in Central Asia, the Southern Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus and the Volga areas.

As the technological level of agriculture increased, so the character of the work on the collective and state farms changed. It began to approximate closer to industrial labour and demanded high professional skills. The most important workers on the collective and state farms were now the agricultural machinery operators, who were the bearers of technological progress in agriculture. Their numbers relative to the rest of the agricultural population rose rapidly and on average more than 700,000 of them were trained annually through various forms of training.

Under the eighth five-year plan the total number of agricultural specialists was increased by almost 400,000 with the result that the management on the collective and state farms was considerably improved. Now the majority of farms, brigades and other units were run by persons who had received proper training. In 1970 95.5 per cent of state farm directors and more than 80 per cent of collective farm chairmen had higher or secondary specialised education.

Given the rapid growth of agricultural technology and the improvement of the forms of management it was important to ensure the systematic retraining of managerial staff and maintain their qualifications at the level required by current demands.

With this aim in view a system for raising qualifications was introduced in 1966. The agricultural higher educational establishments and the technical colleges set up special faculties where

courses of various lengths were given which managerial staff from the collective and state farms could attend for retraining purposes.

Economic Reform in Agriculture

The new system of economic management which was drawn up at the March and September 1965 Plenums of the Central Committee was also implemented in agriculture. The system of cost accounting was introduced into the state farms. The state bought produce from them at prices established for the collective farms, while they in turn covered all production costs from the resources thus accrued and set up the necessary funds, etc. By 1970 more than 40 per cent of state farms worked under the new conditions of planning and economic stimulation.

This had an immediate effect on their economic activity: during the eighth five-year plan they produced 7.5 million roubles profit.

Radical changes also took place in the system of payment to collective farm workers. In May 1966 the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution entitled "On Raising the Material Interest of the Collective Farmers in the Development of Social Production". Guaranteed payment to collective farmers was to be made both in cash (at least once a month) and in kind according to tariff rates fixed for the corresponding categories of the state farm workers. As distinct from the past, when payment was made from that part of the collective farm income left over after the settlement of amounts owing to the state and the creation of the public consumption funds, pay to the collective farm workers was now to be given priority. If a collective farm should lack resources of its own for paying the workers, the state would provide it with credit. That considerably raised the material interest of the collective farmers. By the end of 1966 the majority of the collective farms had introduced guaranteed monthly wages instead of the old system of payment according to work-day units, which had existed since the time of mass collectivisation.

A new phenomenon in collective farm life, which arose from the new economic reform, was the putting of the production

teams, livestock farms and other sub-units on self-supporting basis. Each individual collective farmer now had a direct material interest in the results of the work of his collective.

Under the eighth five-year plan the number of state farms increased. In 1970 there were 15,000, while the number of collective farms during the same period was reduced from 36,900 to 33,600. There also began the widespread formation of production amalgamations both between collective farms and between collective and state farms. Agro-industrial complexes were formed linking agricultural enterprises with enterprises that processed agricultural raw materials, produced building materials and animal feed. The process of socialising production went beyond the framework of individual collective farms. The level of the socialisation of collective farm property increased and the latter acquired new features that made it more similar to the state form of property belonging to the whole people.

The Development of Collective Farm Democracy and the Growth of Labour Activity of the Masses

The years of the eighth five-year plan were marked by the further development of collective-farm democracy and the more active participation of the peasantry in running the affairs of the collective farm. An important event in the life of the collective farmers was the Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers, which was held in November 1969 and adopted the new Model Rules of the collective farm. These were widely discussed at collective farm meetings and in the Party organisations.

The new Rules expanded the economic independence of the collective farms. One of the most important principles of collective farm democracy—the electivity and replacement of the managerial staff—was further developed. According to the new Rules not only the collective farm chairman and the board members were elected, but also the team and section leaders.

The Congress elected a Union Council of Collective Farms

consisting of 125 well-known collective-farm managers and prominent Party and state officials. The purpose of this Council was to discuss the most important issues affecting the collective farms, sum up the experience accumulated in the organisation of production and make appropriate recommendations. The Congress decided that the councils should be set up in the republics, territories, regions and districts. After the congress collective-farm meetings were held throughout the country at which the new Rules were ratified.

Measures to improve agricultural management and develop collective-farm democracy gave rise to an upsurge of political and production activity on the part of the agricultural workers. During the early years of the eighth five-year plan socialist emulation spread widely among the agricultural workers. It was conducted on a particularly extensive scale in 1967 during the preparations for the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Agricultural workers undertook to overfulfill their plans in the jubilee year.

The year 1970, the centenary year of Lenin's birth, saw a fresh upsurge in socialist emulation. Thousands of advanced collective and state farm workers as well as veterans of the collective-farm movement were awarded the jubilee medal "For Valorous Labour" for the high results they had achieved in the socialist emulation drive.

In 1970 socialist emulation was given another boost by the forthcoming 24th Congress of the CPSU. Its initiators were workers from the Zhdanov Collective Farm in the Kiev Region and the workers from the Zolotarevsky State Farm near Rostov. This initiative was widely supported by agricultural workers throughout the country.

The result of the selfless labour of the collective and state farm workers was a steady growth in agricultural production which increased by 21 per cent in 1966-1970 as against 12 per cent under the previous plan. Particularly notable was the growth in grain production, the annual average yield of which grew by 30 per cent. Furthermore this was achieved both in the southern grain growing regions (the Kuban and the Ukraine) and in the non-black earth zone where major industrial centres were located. In 1970 there was bumper grain harvest of 186 million tonnes

(15.6 centners per hectare). Until 1965 the gran yield had never exceeded 10-11 centners per hectare.

In 1970 there was also a high cotton yield of 25 centners per hectare, while at the same time the production of meat, milk and other animal products rose considerably.

This made it possible to increase state purchases of agricultural produce. Thus the average annual procurement of grain was 66 million tons, or 28 per cent more than over the previous five years.

The role of the state farms increased even more in agricultural production. By 1970 they were producing 40 per cent of the whole marketable agricultural output.

5. SOVIET CULTURE AND SCIENCE IN THE SIXTIES

Education and Culture

The measures taken by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government provided favourable conditions for the further cultural development in the Soviet Union.

Important changes took place in the educational system. These were due to the law entitled "On Strengthening the Ties Between Education and Life and on the Further Development of the Educational System in the USSR", which was adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in December 1958. In the late fifties and early sixties Soviet educationalists concentrated mainly on the introduction of a new programme into the school curriculum. But experience soon showed that the virtual substitution of a polytechnical education by specialisation in the upper classes of schools was not justified. In many cases learning and labour were artificially opposed to one another and this resulted in a lowering of educational standards.

The 23rd CPSU Congress stressed the enormous importance of education in state, economic and cultural development and in the moulding of the new man. But together with the unquestionable achievements of the secondary education system the Congress also noted the serious shortcomings in its work. In set-

ting the main guidelines for educational work the 23rd Party Congress noted that secondary schools in the Soviet Union should offer general, labour and polytechnical education. They should give their pupils the basic knowledge of general subjects, inculcate a materialist world outlook and a communist morality and prepare children for life and the conscious choice of a career.

The ideas of the Congress were developed and particularised in a resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers entitled "On Measures to Further Improve the Work of the Secondary General Education School" (November, 1966). The resolution set out a broad and varied long-term programme for the consistent improvement of the education system given the transition to universal secondary education, for enhancing the communist education of the pupils, for further strengthening the ties between the school, the family and the community and for training teachers and raising their qualifications.

The attention of the Party and the Soviet Government to the development of education and to the work of those responsible for education of the nation's youth was also shown in the formation of an Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the establishment of a Charter for the general education school, the formation of a Ministry of Education and an All-Union Secondary-School Council and the convocation of an All-Union Congress of Teachers.

All this helped the development of Soviet education, strengthened its material basis and provided the schools with up-to-date teaching facilities. From 1966 to 1970 schools were built for 8 million pupils.

At the same time the planned development of all branches of higher education went on. To meet the demands of the economy as well as cultural needs there was a significant expansion in the training of specialists in mathematics, physics, biology, chemistry and other disciplines.

Alongside the general intake into the higher educational establishments students began to be accepted in 1960 which were specially sent by industrial enterprises, building projects and collective and state farms. Having finished their education these

students usually returned as specialists to the places which had sent them to study.

To raise the general educational level of the workers and the rural youth preparatory faculties were set up at the larger higher educational establishments and tens of thousands of young industrial and collective farm workers studied there.

There was extensive development of schemes to train workers while still at work. These were conducted not only at the ordinary higher educational establishments but also through the setting up of a special system of evening and extramural institutes and faculties. Half the students at higher educational establishments throughout the country studied here.

In 1966 the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution "On Measures to Improve the Training of Specialists and the Guidance of Higher and Secondary Specialised Education". It stressed the need to link teaching with the demands of contemporary production, science, technology and culture and the prospects for their development.

The number of higher educational establishments continued to grow. Under the eighth five-year plan more than 60 new institutes of higher learning were opened including nine universities. Henceforth not only each Union republic, but even many autonomous republics had their own universities. A clear indication of the success of Soviet higher education was the considerable growth of the intake into the higher educational establishments. Whereas in 1958 the number of students accepted into the higher educational institutes was 455,900, by 1970 it had risen to 911,500. As a result of the development of all aspects of national education the important Directives of the 23rd Party Congress, that over the next five-year plan more than seven million students should graduate with higher or secondary specialised education, were fulfilled.

An integral part of the Soviet educational system was the work of the cultural institutions, which carried out on a vast scale the cultural and political education of the working people. By 1970 there were 128,000 public libraries in the country with a total of 1,310 million books and periodicals. There were more than 134,000 clubs, 1,144 museums, 547 professional theatres, 157,000 cinemas, the Znaniye Society, the houses of Scientific

and Technical Propaganda and the planetarium, all of which made their contribution to raising the cultural level of the Soviet people.

People's universities working on an entirely voluntary basis were set up on the initiative of the working people and by 1970 their number had reached 15,788.

Literature and the Arts

In May 1959 the Third All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers was held to demonstrate the further growth of Soviet multi-national literature. The congress paid particular attention to the ideological and artistic qualities of current writing and it was emphasised that the main task of Soviet literature consisted in creating a life-like image of present-day Soviet man.

Soviet literature during this period was characterised by stronger ties with real life and the works by Sholokhov, Aitmatov, Bondarev, A. Chakovsky, V. Ketlinskaya, D. Granin, B. Polevoi and O. Gonchar were particularly popular for this reason.

A special place in Soviet literature belongs to works dedicated to the heroic victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. Here there are a number of important works like Simonov's trilogy *The Living and the Dead, Men Are Not Born Soldiers* and *The Last Summer* and Fedin's *The Conflagration.*

This was also a fruitful time for Soviet poetry. An enormous number of collected poems were published reflecting an extraordinary variety of creative styles and themes. During these years poets won more Lenin and State prizes than authors in other genres of literature.

A prominent place in Soviet literature also belonged to memoirs and autobiographical works, whose authors gave new light on much of the history of Russian and Soviet culture. The diaries and memoirs of many Soviet writers, artists and scholars were published at this time.

A major event in ideological, political and cultural life was the Fourth All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers, which was held in the jubilee year of 1967 and which analysed the achievements of Soviet literature over the past fifty years and outlined the

paths and prospects for its future development. At this congress the Union of Soviet Writers was awarded the Order of Lenin, the nation's highest award. In the same year the title Hero of Socialist Labour was awarded to M. Sholokhov, A. Korneichuk, A. Upīts, L. Leonov, K. Fedin, M. Tursun-zade and P. Tychina.

The period of preparations for the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution was a time for the Soviet theatre to look back over its years of creative endeavour and generalise the rich experience it had gained in performing the works of Soviet writers. All-Union drama competitions were held and the finest dramatic and musical works won awards.

The late fifties and early sixties were marked by new successes in the cinema. Films like *Ballad of a Soldier,* directed by G. N. Chukhrai and *The Fate of a Man* by S. F. Bondarchuk were shown all over the world.

In 1959 the first International Film Festival was held in Moscow under the slogan: "For Humanism in Cinema Art, for Peace and Friendship Between Peoples". Since then Moscow film festivals which are held every two years have become one of the major events in the world cinema industry.

Of great importance for the Soviet cinema was the Central Committee resolution "On Measures to Improve the Guidance over the Development of the Film Industry" (1962). The resolution noted the new growth of the Soviet cinema industry, many productions of which had received wide acclaim. But at the same time its shortcomings were also mentioned and the organisational and creative restructuring of the country's cinema studios proposed to eliminate these in the future.

The sixties saw such well-known films as *Seryozha, A Clear Sky, Nine Days of One Year,* and *The Chairman.* On a historical and revolutionary theme there was the film *The Communist* directed by Yu. Ya. Raizman. The film-versions of a number of well-known literary works including Sholokhov's *And Quiet Flows the Don* (directed by S. A. Gerasimov), Alexei Tolstoy's *Ordeal* (directed by G. L. Roshal), Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *King Lear,* (directed by G. M. Kozintsev) and Lev Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (directed by S. F. Bondarchuk) saw the light of day during this period.

The Soviet film industry gave particular attention to develop-

ing the theme of Lenin's life. In 1965 S. I. Yutkevich produced *Lenin in Poland* and in 1967 two films by M. S. Donskoy *The Heart of a Mother* and *Mother's Devotion* were produced on the theme of the Ulyanov family.

Soviet painting also produced some outstanding works during this period and this was reflected by the All-Union Jubilee Exhibition (1967) in Moscow.

Among the finest works of Soviet architecture in the 1960s were the Palaces of Young Pioneers in Moscow and Kiev, the Young Pioneer camps at Artek, the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, the Ostankino Teletower and the Tashkent Palace of Arts.

Important achievements were made in the field of monumental art. Monuments to Lenin were erected in a number of towns throughout the country. At Volgograd a grandiose memorial complex was built to commemorate the Battle of Stalingrad. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier was built in Moscow and two memorial complexes were erected to the victims of nazi terror at Salaspils in Latvia and at Khatyn near Minsk.

The jubilee year 1967 saw a summing-up, as it were, of the achievements of Soviet culture over half a century.

The Successes of Soviet Science

Under the scientific and technological revolution science became increasingly a direct force of production. This not only reflected the general trend for enhancing the role of science in the life of society, but was also a necessary condition for creating the communist mode of production.

The characteristic features of contemporary science were the growing role of fundamental, theoretical research and the rapid practical application of scientific discoveries. Particular attention was given to the training of scientific workers. Their numbers in the country as a whole during this period more than trebled, from 284,000 in 1958 to 927,600 in 1970. In the early sixties the USSR had more scientists than the United States. And altogether Soviet scientists comprised one-quarter of the total number in the world.

The network of scientific institutions also continued to expand and improve. In 1960 the Moldavian Academy of Sciences was

founded, thereby completing the process of organising national academies of science in all the Union republics.

In 1970 scientific centres were set up in the Far East, the Urals and the Northern Caucasus. All in all there were 4,985 scientific institutions in the USSR in 1970 (a 50 per cent increase as against 1958).

In 1961 a State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for the Coordination of Scientific Research Work was set up to improve the organisation and planning of Soviet scientific research.[1]

With the formation of this committee the Academy of Sciences began to concentrate its efforts on research into the most prospective and rapidly developing fields of science. It was freed from the excessive number of applied institutes, which were given over to industry, and was able to pursue its task of intensifying theoretical research in the academic institutes. At the same time the network of scientific-research and project and design institutes was streamlined. Major scientific-production amalgamations began to spring up.

The formation of unified state system to process scientific and technological information throughout the country was accelerated.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the development of modern science was the increasing interconnection and interpenetration of various scientific fields and the development of new branches of knowledge from them.

The rapid process of mathematising various fields of knowledge led to the development of the fruitful ideas which lay at the basis of cybernetics, bionics and other important trends in scientific and technological progress. Increasing importance began to be attached to such departments of mathematics as mathematical logic, the theory of algorithms, constructive analysis and the theory of information. The researches of scientists like V. M. Glushkov, S. A. Lebedev, L. V. Kantorovich, A. A. Lyapunov and S. L. Sobolev led to the production of new and more sophisticated computers and to their application in economic calculations and machine translation.

[1] In October 1965 it was reorganised into the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Science and Technology.

Much important work was done by Soviet physicists and chemists. In 1962 L. D. Landau was awarded the Nobel Prize for his work on the theory of liquid helium. In 1964 Nobel Prizes were awarded to A. M. Prokhorov and N. G. Basov (together with the American physicist Ch. Townes) for fundamental research into quantum electronics.

Research into nuclear physics was expanded with powerful accelerators being built at Novosibirsk, Yerevan and Kharkov. On the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution work was completed on the largest proton accelerator in the world with a capacity of 70 billion electron-volts.

An important role in the study of elementary particles belonged to research into cosmic rays. In the early sixties a network of stations was built across the country to register them. The most important achievement made in this field by Soviet scientists with the help of artificial satellites was the discovery of the radiation belts around the Earth.

At the International Institute of Nuclear Problems, which was founded in 1960 under the directorship of G. N. Flerov, the heavy isotope of element number 102 was synthesised.

Biology in combination with physics, chemistry and mathematics became one of the main branches of modern natural sciences. Here the main emphasis was given to genetic and molecular biology. The new scientific study of bionics was successfully begun. During the sixties a new field—cosmic biology, was developed to study the effects of space flight on cosmonauts with the result that it was decided to build spaceships as closed ecological systems.

A large and to a considerable extent decisive contribution was made to world science by Soviet researchers in the Arctic and Antarctic.

Interest grew in the study of the World Ocean, which was seen as a practically inexhaustible reserve of food and minerals. For their experiments in this field Soviet scientists were given a whole fleet of expeditionary ships.

There was also a sharp increase in the role of the social sciences and their place in the life of society. The October 1964 Central Committee Plenum and the 23rd Party Congress showed the enormous importance of theory in the building of communism

at the present historical stage, and emphasised the need for the scientific guidance of social development.

Of enormous importance for increasing the theoretical level of research into the social sciences was the publication of the second edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels and the *Collected Works* of Lenin.

During these years there were a number of major joint works by social scientists, which were of great theoretical, ideological and cultural importance. Most prominent among these was the ten volume *History of the World,* which was the first Marxist history of mankind from ancient times to the end of the Second World War. Also published at the same time were the multivolume *History of the Great Patriotic War, The History of Philosophy,* the series *From Socialism to Communism,* the *History of Russian Art,* the *Dictionary of the Modern Russian Language,* the ethnographical series *Peoples of the World,* the multivolume *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* and the *History of the USSR from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* Work was also in progress on the publication of encyclopaedias of history, literature and philosophy.

Social scientists made a great contribution to the building of communism by their researches in philosophy, economics, history, sociology, law and philology, and they also did much for the communist education of the working people and for making known the revolutionary and patriotic traditions of the Soviet people.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Measures to Further Develop the Social Sciences and Enhance Their Role in the Building of Communism" (August, 1967) outlined the main directions for the development of the social sciences and indicated concrete measures for raising the level of scientific research and teaching the social sciences in the higher educational establishments.

The successes of Soviet science were linked with the broad expansion of international contacts and the conduct of joint research projects with foreign specialists.

In the late fifties and early sixties the characteristic features of the scientific and technological revolution were formed. These were the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the penetration of ra-

dio electronics into all spheres of human activity, the improvement of natural and the creation of artificial materials and space exploration.

A concentrated expression of the achievements of Soviet science and the might of the USSR's economic potential can be seen from the world-historical victories of Soviet space exploration.

On April 12, 1961, Yuri Alexeyevich Gagarin, a Soviet citizen and a member of the Communist Party, completed the first manned space flight in the history of the world in the spaceship Vostok and returned safely to earth.

This flight opened wide vistas for the further development of space exploration. Following Gagarin's example G. S. Titov, A. G. Nikolayev, P. R. Popovich, V. V. Tereshkova and V. F. Bykovsky made important contributions to the study of outer space.

A new step forward in space exploration came with the building of the multi-seater piloted spacecraft Voskhod. The first crew of this orbital spacecraft, which was launched on October 12, 1964, consisted of engineer Colonel V. M. Komarov, research worker K. P. Feoktistov, Candidate of Science (Technology) and doctor B. B. Yegorov. This was the first research that was carried out directly in space and the team worked without the encumbrance of complicated space suits.

On March 18, 1965 a unique experiment was carried out with a man actually going out into open space. This feat was performed by Pilot-Cosmonaut A. A. Leonov during the flight of the Voskhod-2, which was piloted by P. I. Belyaev.

Great honour for his services to the Soviet space programme, for the building of the first piloted spaceships and for controlling the first space flights must go to Academician Sergei Pavlovich Korolev (1906-1966).

A new stage in the development of space exploration came with the successful experiments in automatic docking in orbit. In January 1969 the first experimental space station was launched with cosmonauts V. A. Shatalov, B. V. Volynov, Ye. V. Khrunov and A. S. Yeliseyev on board. During the flight two of the cosmonauts crossed from one part of the station to the other in open space.

In the next group flight by the three Soyuz spacecraft valuable

information was gathered on automatic navigation and on the joint control of several spacecraft through multiple manoeuvring. At this time an important experiment was carried out on space welding, which would make it possible to build various structures while in orbit around the Earth.

In summer 1970 an 18-day flight was completed by cosmonauts A. G. Nikolayev and V. I. Sevastyanov on board the Soyuz-9. This flight showed that cosmonauts could work successfully in long periods of weightlessness.

Another outstanding achievement were the flights of automatic space stations to the Moon, Venus and Mars.

The successful functioning on the Moon of the Soviet automatic *lunokhod,* which was launched in November 1970 by the Luna-17 space station, ushered in a new stage in space exploration.

Thus the first steps had been taken in the practical utilisation of outer space. With the help of the communications satellite Molniya-1 and the ground system Orbita the USSR began long-distance TV broadcasts and two-way multi-channel radio telephone and telegraphic communications with the far distant regions of the country.

The successes of Soviet space exploration have come to symbolise the shining achievements of the USSR and demonstrate the creative power of communist society. Space research has brought about definite qualitative advances in science, technology and production.

CHAPTER TEN

THE SOVIET UNION IN THE SEVENTIES

1. THE 24TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU. ITS MAIN DECISIONS

The Work of the Congress

The completion of the eighth five-year plan was another major step towards the building of a communist society. The results of that plan and the targets for the new five-year plan were fully reviewed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at its 24th Congress. The Congress gave a deep-going analysis of the changes that had taken place in the internal and international position of the USSR over the past years and set out a programme of creative work for the Soviet people over the next five years.

The 24th Congress lasted from March 30 to April 9, 1971. Since the previous congress the number of Soviet Communists had increased by three million, mainly the advanced workers, who comprised more than half of those recently admitted to Party membership. By 1971 almost one out of ten adults were Communist Party members. This numerical growth alone attests to the increased prestige and firm leading position of the Party in the life of Soviet society. But the strength of the Party was not so much in its size as in the wisdom of its Leninist policies and in its organisational genius. The previous period had been marked by a further strengthening of the Party, by its increased cohesion, by its greater prestige and by the enhancement of its leading role in the whole life of the country.

The Congress was attended by 102 delegations from the Communist, Workers', national-democratic and left-wing socialist parties of 91 countries. Such a representative forum had been hitherto unknown in the history of the communist movement. In their speeches at the Congress the foreign representatives spoke highly of the internal and international policies of the CPSU, its principled Marxist-Leninist line in the international communist movement and its consistent efforts to strengthen the unity of that movement and consolidate all revolutionary forces. They unanimously stressed the important international significance of the 24th CPSU Congress and expressed confidence in the fruitful influence it would exert on the world communist and progressive movements in the modern period. The work of the Congress met with a wide response from international public opinion.

The 24th Congress discussed the Central Committee Report which was delivered by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L. I. Brezhnev. It unanimously approved the theoretical and practical conclusions contained in the report. It further confirmed the Directives for the Ninth Five-Year National Economic Development Plan (1971-1975) which were laid out in a report by the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers A. N. Kosygin.

The 24th Congress introduced certain changes into the CPSU Rules, particularly stipulating that Party congresses should be held not less than once in five years. In order to further increase the responsibility for and activity in the implementation of Party policy on the part of the primary Party organisations and strengthen their organisational and educational role in the work collectives the Congress resolved that the statutory right of primary Party organisations to exercise control over the work of the administration should be extended to all project and design organisations, scientific-research institutes, educational establishments, cultural, educational, medical and other institutions and organisations.

The Congress elected the CPSU Central Committee. At the first Central Committee Plenum after the Congress the Politburo of the Central Committee was elected. L. I. Brezhnev was once more elected General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The 24th CPSU Congress on a Developed Socialist Society in the USSR

The term developed socialist society is a generalised expression covering all the changes that have taken place in the Soviet Union. It characterises the present stage in Soviet history and the distinctive features of and the main trends in Soviet society.

Improved and comprehensive socialist social relations firmly rooted in the social, economic, political and cultural life and reposing on a material and technological basis that is fully sufficient for them and that guarantees high and stable rates of economic development on a vast scale and raises the material living standards of the people, the higher level of culture and consciousness among the working people—such are the main and most important attributes characterising contemporary Soviet society as a developed socialist society.

The basis of socialist social relations is the application of socialist principles in material production. In Soviet society all material production, in both town and countryside, is based on socialist principles, on socialist property in the means of production. Two forms of this property—state property owned by the whole people, and collective-farm and cooperative property—coexist harmoniously and are drawn increasingly closer to one another to eventually comprise a single form of communist property. An important role in this process is played by the transformation of some collective farms into state farms and the increasing spread of inter-collective farm and mixed state-collective farm production amalgamations and enterprises which lead to a strengthening of state property in the countryside.

What characterises the contemporary stage in the life of Soviet society as a developed socialist society from the economic point of view is the hitherto unprecedented growth of the country's economic potential, which offers the prospects of its further powerful, rapid and all-round development.

The vast scale of economic growth can be seen from data on the country's production capacity. At the beginning of the ninth five-year plan ten times as much social product (industrial and agricultural) was produced per day than at the end of the thirties. In 1970 alone the country produced twice as much indust-

rial output as in all the pre-war five-year plan periods taken together.

Naturally, the growth of economic potential has opened new vast prospects for further development, which, in their turn, make it possible to solve a wider range of economic problems. In the earlier stages of socialist construction the country was forced to concentrate on what was most urgent and necessary. It could not give equal priority to the production of the means of production and to the production of consumer goods. It could not concern itself equally with the creation of the material and technical basis of socialism and the raising of the living standards of the people. But by the early seventies the conditions were already created which made it not only possible but imperative to bring about the all-round development of the country and of the whole life of the people.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state had always done everything possible to raise the living standards of the people. In the past, for reasons that are well known, the possibilities for doing this were limited. During the sixties, however, the strengthening of the country's economic capacity brought about considerable improvements in the living standards of the people.

The development of social production was accelerated due to scientific and technological progress. Soviet science was increasingly transformed into a direct productive force and thereby made a very important contribution to the country's economic progress. Scientific advances made it possible to solve many production and technical problems in industry, agriculture and other branches of the national economy.

Contemporary economic development is inseparable from improved planning and better economic management and is based on a more scientifically grounded economic policy.

Soviet society is an example of the creative association of working people, whose dominant principle is: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "From each according to his ability to each according to his work". In Soviet society each person has the right to work and is at the same time obliged to work. By the early seventies 92.4 per cent of the country's able-bodied population were either at work or engaged in study (as against 82 per cent in 1959). Such a high percentage of partic-

ipation in social labour was hitherto unknown in the history of class-antagonistic formations, or in the previous history of Soviet society.

The characteristics of the contemporary stage in the development of social relations in the USSR are the result of the substantial changes that have taken place in the country's social structure. This is now distinguished by the increasing homogeneity of its component elements—the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the intelligentsia—together with their growing social, political and ideological unity and the more intensive obliteration of the distinctions between them.

In early 1970 a population census was taken in the USSR. It revealed a number of important changes. In the eleven years that had elapsed since the previous census in 1959 the population of the country had increased by almost 33 million (from 208,800,000 to 241,700,000) i.e., 16 per cent. The urban population had increased considerably more than the rural population. As a result the correlation between the two had changed. Previously the ratio had been 48:52 in favour of the rural population. This now became 58:42 in favour of the urban population. This increase was not only the result of natural growth, it was also due to the fact that a large part of the rural population had gone to live in the towns and some villages had been turned into small townships.

Particularly noteworthy was the considerable growth of the Soviet working class. It now comprised 55 per cent of the gainfully employed population of the country and thus became the most numerous stratum of society. Of course, the place of the working class in socialist society is determined not only by its numerical strength, which can change according to the development of the economy or to the rates of scientific and technological progress. The working class remains the main productive force in society even in conditions of developed socialism. Its revolutionary nature, discipline and organisation determines its leading position in socialist society.

The leading position of the working class strengthens as its general culture, education and political activity grow. The cultural growth of the Soviet working class can be judged in particular from the fact that in 1959 out of every 1,000 persons 396

had higher (finished or unfinished) or secondary (complete or incomplete) education, whereas by 1970 this figure had risen to 550 out of every 1,000.

The Soviet peasantry had also changed. The mechanisation of agricultural production, the growth of productive forces in the countryside, the gradual transformation of agricultural labour into a form of industrial labour, the growth of cultural level of the rural population and the changes that had taken place in its life—all resulted in great changes in the social and psychological make-up of the peasantry. They began to have more features in common with the workers. Their educational, cultural and technical level rose considerably, although it still lagged behind that of the working class. Before the Great Patriotic War only 6 per cent of the rural population had higher or secondary education. By the end of 1970 this figure had risen to more than 50 per cent. Effective means of mass information (radio, the press, television) did much to overcome the cultural differences between town and village. Among the most important changes in Soviet society, which have been particularly apparent at the present stage, is the drawing together of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. This process has gone on in two directions. On the one hand the intelligentsia has been continually replenished from among the ranks of the working class and the peasantry. On the other, the work of the intelligentsia has merged fully into the life of the people, while the increasing cultural and technical level of the working class and the peasantry does more and more to bring physical and mental labour closer together in the process of production.

In the future, when the differences between physical and mental labour disappear, the intelligentsia as a special social group will also disappear. But at the socialist stage of development the steady growth of the intelligentsia is to be expected. By the early 1970s out of every 1,000 of the gainfully employed population there were 187 specialists with higher or secondary specialised education as against 109 in 1959.

The 24th Congress characterised the previous period as one which had seen the all-round progress and the drawing closer together of all the nations and nationalities that make up the USSR.

The drawing together of the peoples of the USSR and the strengthening of their unity is based on a community of economic, political and ideological interests. At the contemporary stage the economic basis of this community has been expanded and consolidated and its internationalist, ideological and political foundations have been strengthened.

Of particular importance for drawing the nations and nationalities of the USSR closer together was the intensive interconnection and mutual enrichment which took place in the sphere of culture. Here special mention must be made of the role of the Russian language which has increasingly become a native language for all the Soviet peoples and as a means of communication between them has to an enormous extent furthered their convergence and mutual enrichment. According to the 1970 census 13 million persons of non-Russian nationalities declared Russian to be their native language and a further 41.9 million named it as their second language. The development of bilingualism has been an extremely important factor in the social and cultural progress of the Soviet peoples.

As a result of the radical social changes that took place in the course of the building of socialism a new social and international community took shape in the USSR—the Soviet people. The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 24th Congress gave a deep analysis of the historical conditions and laws governing the emergence of this new socialist community. It presented a scientific interpretation of the term Soviet people, not reducing it merely to community of different nationalities, but stressing the social and class aspect of the new entity.

The Soviet people is primarily a socio-class community of working people, a community of workers, peasants and intelligentsia welded together by their common place in society, their common historical destiny, vital interests and communist ideals. At the same time it is an international community. The multi-national Soviet people is a new historical entity which differs fundamentally from all "commonwealths of nations" that have risen and fallen in the course of capitalist development. By virtue of its socialist and internationalist nature this community is full of vitality and indestructible.

The cohesion and creative capacity of the Soviet people is an

indicator and the main criterion of the vitality and invincibility of the Soviet socialist system. Having created a developed socialist society, the Soviet people have entered the new stage of their historical development, the stage of communist construction, in full vigour and united by Marxist-Leninist ideology and the high ideals of communism.

The Peace Programme and the Directives for the Ninth Five-Year Plan

The Congress devoted great attention to the foreign policy of the Soviet state and, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the contemporary international situation, set guidelines in foreign relations.

The 24th Congress unanimously approved the work of the CPSU Central Committee directed to consolidating the socialist system and authorised the new Central Committee to continue to strengthen and develop cooperation between the USSR and the other socialist states in all spheres, political, economic and cultural. The directions of the Congress on foreign policy stressed particular importance of further promoting cooperation with the developing countries and supporting their struggle for completely independent development.

The Congress authorised the Central Committee to continue resolutely thwarting the imperialist policies of war and aggression and expose and frustrate the plans of the imperialists that were hostile to the cause of peace and freedom.

The 24th CPSU Congress presented a broad programme for struggle against the aggressive policies of imperialism, a programme which provided for the defence of peace and security and for international cooperation. In essence the programme called for:

— stamping out the hotbeds of war in Indochina and the Middle East; giving a resolute rebuff to any acts of aggression and international arbitrariness; making the renouncement of the use or threat of force in settling outstanding issues an international law;

— finally recognising the territorial changes that had taken

place in Europe as a result of the Second World War and guaranteeing collective security in Europe;

— concluding treaties on the banning of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological warfare;

— stepping up the struggle to end the arms race and dismantling military bases on foreign territories; and

— finally eliminating the vestiges of colonialism.

The programme said that the Soviet Union was ready to strengthen relations of mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres with all states that for their part wished to do the same.

This Peace Programme was fully supported by the whole of the Soviet people.

In the Directives of the Congress for the ninth five year plan of national economic development (1971-1975) it was stated that: "The main task of the five-year plan is to ensure a considerable rise of the people's material and cultural level on the basis of a high rate of development of socialist production, enhancement of its efficiency, scientific and technical progress and acceleration of the growth of labour productivity."[1]

According priority to raising the material and cultural standards of the people was one of the most important indications of the fact that Soviet society had reached a high economic level and become a developed socialist society. The Soviet Union was now able simultaneously to fulfill enormous targets in all areas of its development and in all spheres of the life of society. To implement the new measures for raising living standards through wage rises and increased benefits from the social consumption funds 22 billion roubles were allocated under the ninth five-year plan as against 10 billion in the eighth five-year plan.

To fulfill the main targets of the ninth five-year plan the 24th Congress set out concrete guidelines for social and economic policy, which envisaged increasing real per capita income, raising the minimum wage; increasing the social consumption funds, more efficiently utilising labour resources, reducing manual and arduous labour, raising the technological level of production;

[1] *24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, March 30-April 9, 1971. Documents*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1971, p. 145.

improving housing and community services and drawing the living standards of the rural population closer to those of the town dwellers.

Particular attention in the Directives was paid to accelerating the rates of scientific and technological progress, implementing an integral technological policy, developing all aspects of fundamental and applied scientific research and rapidly introducing the results in industry and agriculture.

One of the most important parts of the five-year plan was to be the consistent development of cooperation between the USSR and the socialist countries and the all-round strengthening of the world socialist system.

In the economic sphere greatest importance was given to the development of industry, particularly those sectors which were directly influenced by scientific and technological progress.

2. THE PEACE PROGRAMME IN ACTION

Strengthening the Socialist Community

During the early seventies international affairs entered a new stage of development. A real transition was taking place from the politics of the cold war and the growing arms race, which had been begun by imperialism in the mid-forties, to a relaxation of international tension, a lessening of the danger of nuclear war and the guaranteeing of international security.

These fundamental changes were conditioned by the general laws of world development, and particularly by changes in the correlation of class forces on the world arena in favour of socialism. By the early seventies the socialist community had considerable economic potential. The industry of the CMEA countries accounted for one-third of the world's industrial output (as against 18 per cent in 1950), while their share in the world's national incomes had risen to 25 per cent (as against 15 per cent in 1950). The Comprehensive Programme for the further deepening and improvement of cooperation and the development of socialist integration, which was adopted in 1971, meant that a qualitatively new stage had been reached in the consolidation

of the economic might of the CMEA countries and the strengthening of their role in the world economy. In implementing this programme the socialist countries began jointly planning the development of a number of sectors of production which would cover all stages of reproduction from project and design work to the actual realisation of the finished article. An International Investment Bank was set up to provide credit for the specialisation and expansion of production of goods that were in short supply in the CMEA countries.

During the seventies the national economies of the CMEA countries, as before, developed more rapidly than, for example, the economies of the United States, Britain and the FRG.

By 1972 the CMEA member-countries with their total population of 437 million had become one of the leading industrial centres in the world. In 1972 Cuba, the first socialist country on the American continent, was also admitted to membership of the CMEA.

At this time business circles in the capitalist world began to show serious interest in cooperating with CMEA. In 1973 an agreement was signed between CMEA and Finland providing for economic, scientific and technological contacts.

In early 1973, drawing on the experience gained so far, the CMEA Executive Committee approved a programme for coordinating the national economic development plans of the CMEA countries for the period 1976-1980. This coordination was carried out simultaneously with the formulation of national plans for the same period and with regard to the prognostications for economic, scientific and technological development till 1990.

Of exceptional importance for the whole course of international affairs was the formulation of a single foreign political strategy for the socialist-community countries. The meeting which took place in August 1971 in the Crimea between leaders of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR showed unanimity on the foreign policy programme presented by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The friendly meetings between leaders of the fraternal Parties which were held in the Crimea in subsequent years were yet another demonstration of the growing solidarity between them. The participants informed each other of the work of their Parties and the further develop-

ment of their countries. They reviewed a wide range of matters relating to political, economic and ideological cooperation and exchanged opinions on relevant international problems. The participants were unanimous in their agreement that the aims outlined in the declarations of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, in the decisions of the congresses of the fraternal parties, in the Peace Programme adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress and in the documents of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (1969) were being successfully achieved.

The Crimean meetings showed that all the fraternal parties were fully resolved to further strengthen the unity of the socialist community and increase its power and influence on the struggle of all progressive forces for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. The Chinese leadership, however, continued to stubbornly oppose this policy. Advancing their false thesis of the "two superpowers", which, they claimed, had formed a conspiracy to foist their will on other countries, the Maoists tried to undermine faith in the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence and achieve their own great-power hegemonistic ambitions.

In this situation it was important to consolidate the positive changes that had taken place in the international arena, give real meaning to the treaties and agreements that had been concluded and prepare the ground for new steps to a lasting peace. The development of all-round cooperation with the fraternal countries was and remains one of the most important directions of the foreign policy of the Soviet state.

The Struggle for Detente and Peace

The Peace Programme adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress attached great importance to the question of European security. This was fully justified since both world wars had begun in Europe and had had their epicentre there also. For many years the CPSU and the Soviet Government had actively worked to curb militarism and revanchism and to create in Europe a system of collective security. In view of the changes that had taken place over the 25 postwar years (particularly the growth of socialism's

forces, the restoration and development of the economic potential of a number of European states, the aggravation of contradictions between the European and American monopolies, and the ideas that had developed for making Europe independent of the US) the CPSU formulated and advanced a constructive proposal, which called upon nations to: "proceed from the final recognition of the territorial changes that took place in Europe as a result of the Second World War. To bring about a radical turn towards a detente and peace on this continent. To ensure the convocation and success of an all-European conference."[1]

This policy of the CPSU received the approval and support of all peace-loving forces throughout the world. As a result important changes took place in the USSR's relations with France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and a number of other countries.

At the same time and directly connected with these changes notable success was achieved on a number of other complex issues relating to European security. In September 1971 after long talks held on the initiative of the Soviet Union an agreement was concluded on West Berlin, which was signed by the USSR, the United States, Britain and France.

A significant manifestation of the change for the better in international affairs were the treaties which the Soviet Union, Poland and the GDR signed with the Federal Republic of Germany. These treaties were based on the recognition of the inviolability of existing borders in Europe and the rejection of any territorial claims. They pledged the sides to refuse to use force for the settlement of international disputes.

Soviet-French relations also entered a qualitatively new stage. In November 1971 a document of considerable importance was signed.

This was entitled "Principles of Cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the French Republic".

The importance of the cooperation between the USSR, France and West Germany went beyond the framework of the countries themselves. To a large extent it affected the situation in Europe as a whole.

[1] L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles*, p. 356.

Of exceptional importance were the positive changes that took place in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. The turning point came with the meetings between Soviet leaders and the President of the United States in Moscow in May 1972, when a number of important documents were signed. These were the "Basic Principles of Mutual Relations between the USSR and the United States", the "Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems" and the "Interim Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms". In June 1973 L. I. Brezhnev visited the United States. He stressed that the policy of the Soviet Union for improving relations with the United States was not a temporary phenomenon, but the pursuit of a firm line that was originally formulated by Lenin and that reflected the consistent principles of Soviet foreign policy. To a very considerable extent the state of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States determined the general international atmosphere in the world. The CPSU considered the normalisation of relations between the USSR and the US as an extremely important organic part of the much larger process of radically improving the international situation.

On June 22, 1973 a document was signed, the practical implementation of which would have truly historic importance for the whole of mankind. This was the "Agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the Prevention of Nuclear War", by which the two great countries that possessed overwhelmingly the largest stockpiles of nuclear weapons in the world agreed to act in such a way as to eliminate the danger of a nuclear war by refraining from the use of nuclear weapons. The United States and the Soviet Union undertook to settle their disputes by means of talks.

Both sides also realised the need for broad and close cooperation in the sphere of economics, science, technology and culture. With this aim in view it was decided over the following three years to increase the volume of trade between the two countries to between 2 and 3 billion dollars.

An important step on the road to ensuring that war should

never again return to the European continent was the holding of the Conference of European Countries, at which the United States and Canada were also present, to discuss the question of security and cooperation in Europe. The first stage of this conference was successfully completed in July 1973 in Helsinki. The second was opened two months later in Geneva to set out measures for ensuring a peaceful future on the European continent.

Another event of outstanding importance in early 1973 was the end of the Vietnam War, which had lasted almost 12 years. This was primarily a victory for the heroic Vietnamese people, who bravely fought against imperialist aggression for national independence and social liberation. But at the same time it was also a great victory for the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, which had unswervingly offered extensive and effective aid to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle.

In 1973 a Plenum of the Central Committee characterised the changes that had taken place as constituting a turning point from "cold war" to detente. But at the same time the Plenum called for vigilance and stressed the need to deliver a resolute rebuff to any attempts at aggression by the reactionary circles of imperialism.

The correlation of forces had changed in the world but the class nature of imperialism remained unchanged. This is clear from the appeals of some NATO chiefs to continue the arms race or from the acts of those American senators who spared no effort to hinder the expansion of economic contacts between the US and the USSR. Then again the causes of conflict in the Middle East still remained and numerous complications still beset Indochina. Finally, there were the tragic events that occurred in September 1973 in Chile, where the military junta overthrew the elected Popular Unity Government through a coup d'état.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government displayed the highest degree of vigilance in firmly upholding the interests of the Soviet people, the builders of communism, and all their efforts were devoted unswervingly to consolidating the achievements they had gained. In autumn 1973 the USSR suggested that the UN General Assembly take steps to make international detente irreversible and universal. The USSR suggested that the permanent members of the Security Council (the USSR, the

United States, France, Britain and China[1]) make a 10 per cent reduction in their defence budgets and use part of the money saved thereby for aid to the developing countries. The World Congress of Peace Forces, which was held in Moscow in late 1973 to promote international security and disarmament, national liberation, cooperation and peace, was a clear demonstration of the unanimous support for international detente and an important step in uniting all progressive forces in the world.

The Expansion of Economic Cooperation and the Growth of Cultural Ties

On the basis of the main tasks formulated in the Peace Programme, the CPSU outlined the necessary steps for improving and expanding economic ties with other countries.

Central place in the economic contacts of the Soviet Union with other countries was taken as before by the socialist states, which accounted for almost two thirds of the USSR's foreign trade.

During the early 1970s the Soviet Union met the CMEA countries' import needs almost totally in oil and pig iron, up to 90 per cent in iron ore, up to 80 per cent in timber, 75 per cent in petroleum products, rolled metal and phosphate fertilizers, and over 60 per cent in cotton, coal and manganese ore. Furthermore the USSR exported all types of lathes, industrial equipment and instruments, lorries and cars, planes, agricultural machinery and tractors.

In turn, the other CMEA countries accounted for more than 65 per cent of the USSR's import needs in economically essential goods. The Soviet Union was a major purchaser of machinery. Indeed, it purchased nearly half the goods exported by the CMEA member-countries' machine-building industry. During the seventies the USSR increased its purchases of equipment for the light, food and chemical industries, of shipping, of railway roll-

[1] The People's Republic of China was made a member of the UN in 1972.

ing stock and of consumer goods such as footwear, knitwear and sewn goods.

The economic ties between the USSR and the new developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America became broader and more varied. The strengthening contacts with these countries served increasingly to aid not only the growth of their economies and therefore the consolidation of their national independence, but also to further the achievement of those tasks which were dictated by the general cause of the struggle for peace and social progress.

The most important items exported by the Soviet Union to these countries were machinery and equipment, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, petroleum products, timber and chemicals. In promoting the formation of genuinely independent national economies, the Soviet Union helped the developing countries expand primarily the productive sphere of their economies, particularly in the state sector. According to agreements signed with the USSR on economic and technical aid to the developing countries, approximately 90 per cent of the resources exported to these countries were intended for the development of the productive sectors and 75 per cent of this was for boosting industry and power generation. These agreements provided for Soviet participation in the building and expansion of some 860 different projects. While this construction work was still going on and later during the early stages of operation some 300,000 persons were trained by Soviet specialists in the running and operation of the various projects.

During this period the USSR cooperated successfully with Afghanistan, Turkey, India, Egypt, Algeria, Iraq and Syria. These states accounted for approximately 80 per cent of the overall volume of economic cooperation between the USSR and the developing countries, and the enterprises in these countries built with Soviet aid are contributing substantially to their national production.

In their turn the developing countries exported to the USSR concentrates of non-ferrous metallic ores, long-fibre cotton, natural rubber and various types of consumer goods.

Economic cooperation between the USSR and the developing countries was built on the principles of equality and mutual re-

spect. It increasingly acquired the character of a stable division of labour as opposed to the international system of exploitation practised by the imperialists.

Trade and economic relations between the USSR and the developed capitalist countries were also conducted on a new scale and took on new forms in the early seventies. Numerous treaties and agreements were signed on developing trade and industrial cooperation, on offering long-term credits and on mutual participation in the building of various projects. The expansion of these contacts was not accidental. On the one hand, it resulted from the mounting scientific and technological revolution, from the deepening of international specialisation and cooperation of production, from the unequal distribution of natural and human resources among different countries and from the construction of new production complexes which demanded the united efforts of several states. For example, exploration and conquest of world ocean, environmental conservation, space exploration, the fight against disease and many other no less important problems cannot be solved without the collective efforts of several countries. On the other hand, such cooperation would be unthinkable without substantial improvements in the international climate. It was in this atmosphere of relaxed international tension and active pursuit of the policy of peaceful coexistence, as proclaimed and consistently conducted by the USSR, that economic relations began to rapidly progress between the USSR and France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, the United States and many other capitalist countries.

Trade with the Western European countries was conducted on the basis of long-term agreements, concluded, as a rule, for a period of five years. With Finland, France and Austria economic, technological and industrial cooperation agreements were signed for a ten-year period and it was further envisaged that trade contacts should be widened, joint research undertaken and a number of industrial and other projects designed and built.

The Soviet-American summit talks held in 1972 and 1973 offered favourable prospects for a substantial improvement in economic and trade relations between the two countries. The agreement signed in October 1972 provided for granting each country

most favoured nation status in trade with the other. Many American firms immediately showed great interest in trading with the USSR, in signing technical cooperation contracts, in the joint building of a number of enterprises and in the exploitation of natural resources. By 1972 trade between the two countries had almost trebled and was in excess of half a billion roubles.

There was also an expansion of economic contacts with Japan. Agreement was reached for Japan to provide equipment and other goods for the timber and pulp and paper industry in the Soviet Far East in exchange for Soviet timber and raw materials.

Cultural exchange began to take an increasingly important place in the development of international relations and the expansion of contacts between countries. The Soviet Union now maintained cultural ties in various forms with almost 120 countries, which was more than ever before. Since 1965 the total number of international contacts made by the Ministry of Culture and the various cultural unions had more than doubled, while the exchange of arts and other exhibitions had increased almost fourfold.

The Days of Culture, which were held among the fraternal socialist countries and involved various kinds of cultural festivities on a broad scale, now became a firm tradition. As a rule they became not only cultural and artistic events, but demonstrations of friendship and solidarity.

The policies pursued by the Soviet state for normalising international relations and expanding and strengthening economic and cultural ties, however, met with stubborn resistance from reactionary circles in the capitalist world.

But despite this, it became widely realised that economic and cultural cooperation with the USSR required a realistic approach to the new correlation of forces that now existed in the world. The expansion of commercial, economic, scientific and technological contacts was included as one of the main points on the agenda of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation.

With exceptional clarity history has demonstrated the correctness of Lenin's forecast that: "There is a force more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the govern-

ments or classes that are hostile to us. That force is world general economic relations, which compel them to make contact with us."[1]

3. THE POLICY OF ECONOMIC INTENSIFICATION AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NINTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Organising the Creative Activity of the Masses

Guided by the Directives of the 24th CPSU Congress the Soviet planning bodies set out the main targets for economic development during the period 1971-1975. In November 1971 a Plenum of the Central Committee reviewed the ninth five-year plan after which it was made law by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The ninth five-year plan was not only a direct continuation of the previous course of economic development, but the beginning of the practical implementation of the Party's economic strategy for the all-round intensification of the national economy.

The sixties saw the beginning of the practical achievement of the main economic goal formulated in the Party Programme—the creation of the material and technical basis of communism in the USSR. Through a policy of accelerating technological progress the Soviet Union had by the end of the decade increased its industrial potential primarily due to the rapid growth of such promising industries as machine-building, electric power, chemical, oil and gas. Radical changes had taken place in the country's fuel industry. Though coal production continued to increase, chief emphasis was now put on oil and gas, as being far more economic and efficient types of fuel. Significant results were also produced by the chemical industry with the production of synthetic materials (particularly plastics and rubber) and mineral fertilizers sharply increased. Fundamental changes occurred in the country's transport system. On the railways electric and diesel engines almost completely replaced the steam engines, the production of which was now discontinued. Jet aircraft now predominated in civil aviation and major advances were made by

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, December 23-28, 1921", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 155.

the automobile industry. A gigantic network of conduits now covered the country, mainly due to the laying of the world's largest gas and oil pipelines.

The building industry had also changed beyond recognition. Its complete mechanisation, on the one hand, and the general use of ferro-concrete, large-panel constructions on the other brought about rapid progress in the building of industrial enterprises and power stations and led to a hitherto unprecedented scale in house building for the working people.

The renewal of the industrial basis of the economy and the extensive introduction of modern technology developed at a rapid rate. Whereas between 1951 and 1960 there were some 17,300 new types of machinery, equipment, apparatus and instruments produced in the USSR, between 1961 and 1970 this number had multiplied two and a half times, while the mass production of instruments and equipment for automation and computerised technology, and this is particularly significant, rose correspondingly fivefold. During the sixties the mass introduction of automated control systems began. At the same time the production of many obsolete designs was discontinued.

One of the main indicators of technological progress was introduction of comprehensive mechanisation and automation in production. In 1971 there were some 11,000 automated lines in the USSR (almost twice as many as in 1965) and half of these were at machine-building and metal-working enterprises.

Under these conditions which clearly reflected a qualitatively new stage in the development of productive forces, the Party gave a full analysis of the characteristics of the present period of communist construction and set the goal of combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system.

As a direct result of the main objective of the ninth five-year plan a new light was cast on the problem of the resources and ways and means necessary for the rapid growth of industrial potential and particularly the development of the most promising and progressive industries. The main stress was laid on raising production efficiency and accelerating and expanding the introduction of scientific and technological developments. Now the need for economic intensification had become more important

than ever before. Productive forces had increased considerably, but the possibilities for supplementing the work force were now reduced. Furthermore, such a lever as the redistribution of resources from one industry to another could only be used to a very limited extent, and the rates of capital investment themselves were not limitless.

"Consequently," said L. I. Brezhnev, "we must rely mainly on enhancing the effectiveness of production. In simpler terms, the crux of the problem is to achieve a substantial increase of output and of the national income per unit of labour and material and financial inputs. That, in the final analysis, is what raising the productivity of social labour amounts to."[1] Pointing to the need to approach the key problems of economic development from precisely this point of view, L. I. Brezhnev emphasised that from the point of view of both immediate objectives and long-term prospects priority must be given to accelerating scientific and technological progress. For this reason the Central Committee Report to the 24th Congress for the first time ever allotted a special section to this question under the heading "The Scientific and Technological Revolution. Fusion of Science and Production."

Fully realising the importance of the policy of intensification, which directly affected all aspects of the material and cultural life of Soviet society, the Communist Party, the Komsomol and the trade unions actively set about its day-to-day implementation.

Of exceptional importance for organising the upsurge of creative endeavour of the working people was a Central Committee Resolution entitled "On Further Improvements in the Organisation of Socialist Emulation", which was published in early September 1971.

At that time advanced work collectives in Moscow and Leningrad came forward with an initiative to fulfill the ninth five-year plan ahead of time. The steelworkers at the Magnitogorsk and Balkhash combines decided to compete for increasing the output and improving the quality of their steel, while miners in

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[1] L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles*, p. 385.

the Donbas and the Kuzbas competed for the highest productivity of labour and the commissioning of the design capacities ahead of time.

The CPSU Central Committee analysed the experience so far accumulated and considered it necessary to raise the question of how to make further improvement in socialist emulation and find new ways to develop it. It called upon the public organisations, the ministries and the trade union councils to give careful examination to all new initiatives, to have constant regard of the growing demands made on the competition at the present stage of economic development, and to actively combat all manifestations of formalism and underestimation of moral incentives.

The Central Committee declared that under the scientific and technological revolution socialist emulation had a qualitatively new role to play in developing the national economy and educating the working people. "The socialist emulation should be aimed primarily at mobilising the working people for the utmost raising of the productivity of labour and enhancing the efficiency of social production—lower labour expenditures, more rational use of raw-material and financial resources, higher quality of output and better utilisation of production assets and capital investments."

The results of the first year of the ninth five-year plan demonstrated the resolution of the Party and the people to fulfill this task successfully.

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR

In early 1972 the CPSU Central Committee made an appeal to the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia to commemorate the forthcoming 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with new achievements in strengthening the might of the multinational socialist Motherland, developing the national economy and culture and raising the living standards of the working people. In response to this appeal working people in town and

village alike undertook the increased obligations to mark this glorious date with great feats of labour.

In 1972 the country's national income was 109 times more than in 1922. The production of means of production was 822 times greater than it had been, while the production of consumer goods was 101 times greater. In the year in which the USSR was formed the country accounted for one per cent of world industrial output, while 50 years later it accounted for 20 per cent.

But if the industrial growth of the USSR as a whole was impressive, that of the Union republics was truly astonishing. From 1922 to 1972 the volume of industrial output in the RSFSR rose 308 times. Corresponding figures for the other Union republics were: the Ukraine—176, Byelorussia—343, Kazakhstan—601, Uzbekistan—239, Kirghizia—412, Tajikistan—513, Turkmenistan—136, Georgia—161 and Moldavia—532. In the Baltic Republics where Soviet power was not established until 1940 industrial output had risen in Lithuania 37 times, in Latvia 31 times and in Estonia 32 times. Even more remarkable were the indicators shown by the autonomous republics.

All the Union republics saw the flourishing of science, culture and art. To take Uzbekistan as an example. In 1914 there were only 165 schools with a total of 18,000 pupils. In 1924 (the year of the formation of the republic and its entry into the Soviet Union) these figures had risen to 913 and 77,000 respectively. In 1971 there were 9,234 general education schools with a total of 3,407,000 pupils and 168 secondary specialised establishments. In 1913 there was not a single higher educational institution in the whole of Uzbekistan. In 1924 there were only 2 with a total of 2,900 students. By 1971 the republic had two universities, 36 institutes and a total of 234,300 students. In 1971 Uzbekistan had 188 scientific institutes as compared with two in 1913. The total number of research workers in 1971 was 26,300; in 1913 there had been only 100. There can be no clearer demonstration of the enormous gains of socialism and of the flourishing of the socialist nations as they develop within the framework of a single multinational state. Uzbekistan was a typical example of the development of all the formerly backward regions of the USSR.

These achievements continued to inspire the Soviet people.

The nation's celebrations concluded with a joint ceremonial session of the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR which was held on December 21 and 22 in Moscow. This jubilee session at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses was attended by party and government delegations from the socialist countries, delegations of Communist and Workers' parties from the capitalist and developing countries and of the national democratic and left socialist parties, statesmen from many foreign countries, representatives of international democratic organisations and guests from all over the world.

The Report entitled "The 50th Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" was delivered by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The report gave an all-round analysis of the experience gained in the formation and development of the USSR and showed its international significance.

The formation of the USSR was a triumph for Lenin's nationalities policy, the implementation of which established new, socialist relations between all peoples. The national question, in the form in which it existed before the revolution, was completely, finally and irreversibly solved in the USSR. The final result was on a par with such enormous achievements as the industrialisation of the country, the collectivisation of agriculture and the cultural revolution.

Now that the new historical community, the Soviet people, has firmly established itself and the Soviet economy is an integral organism, formed on the basis of the common economic aims and interests of all the Soviet nations and nationalities, the process by which the whole life of Soviet society is being internationalised appears with increasing distinctiveness. In conditions of mature socialism the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union continue to draw closer together with the dominant role in this being played by the working class.

National relations still preserve their relevance today. The Communist Party is striving actively to instill internationalist ideals in the consciousness of all Soviet citizens and break down prejudice and vestiges of nationalism. Internationalism is both a deep conviction and a behavioural norm for the Soviet people.

Internationalism and Soviet patriotism form an integral whole. "The national pride of the Soviet man," stressed L. I. Brezhnev, "is a sentiment that is great, all-embracing and immensely rich in content. It is more far-reaching and profound than the natural national feelings of each of the peoples making up our country. It has absorbed all the finest accomplishments of the labour, courage and creative genius of millions of Soviet people".[1]

All those who spoke at the ceremonial session of the successes achieved by the Soviet Union noted the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party in the creation and development of the Soviet multinational state and in the implementation of Lenin's nationalities policy. The representatives of the fraternal parties and peoples of the socialist countries and of the Communist and national democratic parties spoke unanimously of the international importance of the Soviet multinational state, of its outstanding role in the history of mankind and of its influence on the world revolutionary process.

The fiftieth anniversary of the USSR was a landmark in the strengthening of socialist internationalism. To commemorate it the Order of Friendship of Peoples was instituted.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan

The organisation of the creative activity of the masses was closely linked with the exchange of Party membership cards begun in 1973, following the recommendations of the 24th Party Congress and held throughout the country. This served as a kind of check-up of all the party forces and their adherence to the Party Rules and Programme.

In 1974 the Soviet Government decided to undertake the building of the Baikal-Amur Railway, an enormous project which would connect Siberia and the Far East. The youth of the country warmly welcomed this idea and volunteers came in abundance to help with this enormous project, the latest stage in opening up the eastern regions of the country which would eventual-

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[1] L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles, (1972-1975)*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p. 115.

ly bring about a comprehensive development of productive forces along the five-thousand-kilometre-long railway line.

1975 saw the thirtieth anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War. Nowhere in the country was there a town or a village, or enterprise or an institution, a work collective or an individual family that did not celebrate this event. Everywhere meetings were held, war veterans honoured and gifts given in memory. One minute's silence was held throughout the country in honour of those who fell in battle for the freedom and independence of their Motherland.

The general upsurge of mass political activity was given a further boost by the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR which were held in 1974 and the elections of the local organs of power which were held in the following year. The actual process of preparation for the election of the deputies reflected the general improvement of Soviet democracy. Everywhere there was a careful selection of candidates, in which the broadest sections of the working people participated. Great importance was given to the pre-election meetings between the candidates and their constituency. In a number of places the constituents did not support the candidatures nominated and suggested they be replaced by more deserving representatives. When the count of votes cast had been taken it turned out that in 68 constituencies the registered candidates had not received an absolute majority of votes and consequently were not elected deputies.[1]

Among the deputies elected in 1975 (a total of 2.2 million persons) more than 48 per cent were workers and a little over 27 per cent were collective farmers. Almost half of all the deputies to the local Soviets were women (48 per cent). Communists, and this is a characteristic fact of Soviet democracy, accounted for 44 per cent, while the remainder (the majority) were all non-Party members. These elections once more demonstrated the unbreakable bonds uniting the CPSU with the people.

This unity between the Party and the people was once again clearly evident in the organisation of labour initiatives and in the

[1] In all, during the ten years preceding the 1975 elections four thousand deputies were recalled from the local Soviets and 11 deputies from the USSR Supreme Soviet (cf. *The Soviet Union, Political and Economic Handbook*, Moscow, 1975, pp. 50-51, in Russian).

extensive socialist competition to fulfill the ninth five-year plan ahead of time. In 1974 the drawing up of upward counter-plans at the enterprises was conducted on a broad scale. In discussing and accepting them the work collectives voluntarily undertook to exceed the state targets as set down by the State Planning Committee. To encourage those participants who distinguished themselves in the competition a special badge "For Valorous Labour in the Ninth Five-Year Plan" was presented together with financial awards. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR instituted an Order of Labour Glory in three degrees. The finest representatives of the older generation were awarded the "Veteran of Labour" medal.

The number of advanced workers grew rapidly and precisely for this reason the finest brigades, shop floors, collective and state farms and factories were able to fulfill their targets ahead of time by summer 1975. Gradually this socialist emulation drive developed into a movement among the whole people to provide a worthy welcome for the 25th Congress, which was planned for February 1976.

It was in this situation that the ninth five-year plan was completed ahead of time. With all the planned targets fulfilled absolute increment was higher than ever before. Having increased the volume of industrial output by almost fifty per cent, the country achieved higher industrial output than during any previous five-year plan, greater capital investments and more state allocations for raising the standard of living of the Soviet people.

The Results of the Ninth Five-Year Plan in Industry

The policy for combining the advantages of a planned socialist economic system with achievements of the scientific and technological revolution did much to advance industrial production. Between 1971 and 1975 the development of the machine-building industry was particularly rapid and this was of decisive importance for expanding the scale of automation and raising the technological level of the economy. All in all during the 5 years the volume of the machine-building industry's output rose by 73 per cent, but in some branches like instrument making and auto-

mation technology the increase was 100 per cent and in computer technology 330 per cent. On average there were approximately 4,000 new designs of various types of machinery brought out annually. More than 2,300 automated control systems were put into operation, which was almost six times as many as in the previous five-year plan.

Altogether some two thousand major industrial enterprises were built and a large number of other projects undertaken. Of particular importance were the Leningrad nuclear power station (with a capacity of two million kilowatts), the blast furnace at the Krivoi Rog Metallurgical Plant (5,000 cubic metres) and the timber-industry enterprises at Bratsk. Possibly the best known project of these years was the Kama Automobile Plant, which was designed to produce 150,000 heavy lorries per year and which was built virtually from start to finish during the ninth five-year plan. At the same time as this vast plant was being constructed the town of Naberezhniye Chelny with 230,000 inhabitants by 1975 was also built.

The country's fuels and energy resources rose dynamically. In 1975 the USSR produced for the first time more than one trillion kilowatt hours of electric power. Almost half of this came from the 60 largest thermal, nuclear and hydro-electric power stations. The country's integral power grid, which besides the European part of the USSR now included the Urals, Northern Kazakhstan and Western Siberia, was also further developed.

Technological progress and the selfless work of the miners radically altered the coal industry. The work force was reduced by more than 110,000 during the five-year plan, but overall coal output was increased by some 58 million tonnes to a record of 700 million tonnes.

The open-cast coal mining also continued to develop rapidly and by 1975 it was accounting for almost one third of the total coal produced.

The oil industry, too, fulfilled its planned targets, so much so that in 1974 the USSR became the largest oil producing country in the world, outstripping the previous records held by the United States. In 1975 there were 491 million tonnes of oil produced. The famous oil fields of Baku still continued to function, but the

country's oil now came predominantly from Western Siberia and other regions.

The opening of the oil fields in Western Siberia was an event of utmost importance. Here modern high-speed cluster drilling, complete automation and the latest control systems were in use. The capacity, length and technology employed on the Siberian pipelines broke world records and made them a model of technological progress.

At this time also the Druzhba (Friendship) pipeline which supplies oil from the USSR to the European socialist countries was also extended. This supply of fuel to the CMEA countries which was made possible through increased oil production in the USSR allowed them to build up their economic potential on a planned basis.

In his assessment of the overall results of expansion in the coal, oil and gas industries and in the production of electric power A. N. Kosygin, the head of the Soviet Government, emphasised in 1976 that "The Soviet Union is the only major industrial state in the world that depends for its economic development on its own fuel and energy resources. This is an essential advantage of our economy and an extremely important condition for its stable growth."[1]

Under the ninth five-year plan many other victories were achieved. The metallurgical and chemical industries advanced rapidly with the result that during the seventies the USSR also became the world's largest producer of mineral fertilizer. (A little earlier world records had also been set up by the Soviet Union in the manufacture of tractors, and diesel and electric engines, in the mining of iron, manganese and chrome ore, coal and coke and in the production of pig-iron, cement, potassium salts, phosphates, cotton, flax and other materials.)

Under the ninth five-year plan the USSR moved noticeably forward in economic competition with the developed capitalist countries. Suffice it to say that industrial output increased in the USSR at an annual average of 7.4 per cent, whereas in the Unit-

[1] A. N. Kosygin, *Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1976, p. 60.

ed States and the Common Market countries this was only 1.2 per cent, i.e., 6 times slower. And this was not a temporary trend. Whether we take a five-, fifteen- or twenty-five-year period the picture remains unchanged in favour of the USSR and the socialist community countries.

The Development of Agriculture

Important steps forward were not only made in industrial production, which of course determines the economic power of each country and its defence capabilities. Notable progress was also achieved in agricultural production. During the ninth five-year plan Soviet agriculture substantially strengthened its material and technological basis: it received a total of 1.7 million tractors, 1.1 million lorries and almost 550,000 combine harvesters and a great quantity of other machinery.

Changes took place not only in the technological equipment of the collective farms. Experience showed that in an era of scientific and technological revolution when specialisation and concentration were under way in agriculture, the time had come for great changes in the methods of running the collective farms. In present-day conditions an individual collective farm was simply not able to make the most profitable use of the latest technology and agricultural science. For this reason many of the advanced collective farms decided to pool their efforts through inter-collective farm cooperation in individual sectors. The best known of these was the "Moldavian experiment", which was begun after the setting up of Collective Farm councils in 1969. The Moldavian Collective Farm Council had by the middle of the ninth five-year plan concentrated in its hands the planning, financial and executive functions and began to exercise unified financial and economic control. This was the essence of the Moldavian experiment.

In practical terms the Collective Farm Council was a body for organising cooperation between the various farms. It did not replace the management on the farms themselves, it simply raised socialisation of agricultural production to a higher level. The Collective Farm Council was an elective body set up by the

collective farmers themselves at their congress (after meetings held in each artel). It was the task of the Council to ensure that all the farms under its guidance receive profit from the joint undertaking in proportion to their invested capital.

Using these new advantages the Moldavians began to build intensive feeding units for pork production. Essentially these were large-scale industrial enterprises employing closed-circuit television and automated lines. One individual collective farm alone could not afford this kind of technology, but the Collective Farm Council coped with it successfully. The profits accruing from the enterprise were then divided among the participant farms in accordance with the contributions they had made.

On analogy with this there were the inter-collective farm regional orchards which employed automated irrigation systems, large refrigerator units, packing departments and other features such as an airport and a garage for refrigerator trucks.

Similar experiments were tried in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Krasnodar Territory and a number of other parts of the RSFSR. They were important not only from the point of view of agricultural industrialisation and the rapid growth of the productivity of labour. These new amalgamations acquainted the peasants with a higher, industrial organisation of labour. They increased production efficiency and strengthened the material basis for providing cultural institutions and amenities and for generally improving the cultural level of the collective farmers.

The new form of management, and specialisation and cooperation of production based on inter-collective farm amalgamation and agro-industrial integration that was tried in Moldavia had a marked effect on the development of agriculture which made considerable progress even in the extremely unfavourable weather conditions that prevailed during the last years of the ninth five-year plan period. The example set was of great interest to many. Thought up at a time of the rapid growth of the country's productive forces, it gave an additional stimulus to the overall increase in production, to the changes that were taking place in the social structure of the village and to the raising of the cultural level of the collective farmers.

The ninth five-year plan visibly demonstrated the fact that the Soviet village was changing its appearance at an unprecedentedly

rapid rate. Intensive agro-industrial integration was linked with the rapid increase in the number of agro-industrial complexes, which brought together state farms, plants and project organisations into a single whole, and with the spread of poultry, pork and sugar combines. Whereas in 1960 three-fifths of the inhabitants of the countryside were peasant farmers, by 1975 this fraction had been reduced to not more than one-third. The majority now were industrial and office workers who were employed in the state sector at enterprises or institutions.

The Party's agrarian policy and the general successes achieved in the implementation of social development plans brought about a substantial transformation of village life and work. And although the village still lagged behind the town, this gap was considerably reduced during the ninth five-year plan period.

On the whole the agricultural policy outlined at the March 1965 Plenum of the Central Committee continued to be implemented, but the attention of the collective farmers was particularly drawn to three main guidelines that resulted from the intensive development of collective and state-farm production. These were mechanisation, land improvement and chemicalisation of agriculture.

The new face of the Soviet village and the increased level of culture, political awareness and activity of the peasantry made itself tangibly felt during the difficult years of the ninth five-year plan, when from the point of view of weather, only one year of the whole five, 1973, was a good year, and two years, 1972 and 1975 brought terrible droughts. No previous five-year plan had seen such a run of bad weather since they were first introduced in 1928.

The winter of 1972 was very cold with little snow and the summer brought a drought of unprecedented proportions which affected vast areas of the country. Grain and other crops in the European part of the USSR perished. But in these difficult conditions outstanding results were achieved in Kazakhstan, Siberia and parts of the Urals which produced good harvests. Due to the high level of organisation on the part of the farm workers, the intensive exploitation of technology and selfless work in which many inhabitants of the towns came to participate, a total grain yield of 168 million tonnes was achieved. This was slightly less

than the 1970 record, but better than the annual average yield during the eighth five-year plan.

Calculations show that in pre-revolutionary Russia, or even during the first years of Soviet power a snowless winter followed by a long drought would have resulted in disaster. Even at the 1955 level of agrotechnology no more than 90 million tonnes of grain could have been expected from a year like 1972. These and other calculations once more show the correctness of the general policy of intensification of production and the strengthening of the material and technological basis of agriculture. Furthermore, the experience of 1972 shows that the least damage from the vicissitudes of the weather occurred in those areas which had the best organisation of labour and which knew how to make the fullest use of technology, fertilizers and water conservation equipment.

The autumn of 1973 saw a record harvest of grain in excess of 222 million tonnes. All Union republics fulfilled their delivery quotas. Kazakhstan successfully completed its twentieth virgin soil harvest which brought the state more than 16.5 million tonnes of grain. Once again experience demonstrated the far-sighted policy of the Party in developing the virgin and fallow lands. In the 20 years that had elapsed since the spring of 1954 the virgin lands had given the country a vast amount of agricultural produce. In 1973 they produced 27 per cent of the country's grain.

All this meant a vast increase in agricultural production, the average annual volume of which was higher than in the previous five-year plan. The production of meat and milk was up and the average annual grain harvest was 14 million tonnes higher. Cotton and rice growers, who had the best conditions during these years, achieved record harvests.

In evaluating these achievements it must be once again stressed that for a number of reasons, which were largely of an objective historical character, the state could not allocate more resources to the needs of the countryside for a long time. The situation following the March 1965 Plenum, however, was different. A new contemporary stage in the Party's agrarian policy was begun. Of the 320 billion roubles of capital investment which agriculture received during the years of Soviet power, 213 billion (or 70 per cent!) was allotted during the period 1966-1975 (i.e., the de-

cade following the March Plenum) and of this 131 billion was alloted during the ninth five-year plan. All this made it possible to create the firm foundations for making agriculture into a highly developed sector of the Soviet economy.

Tangible results had already been achieved during the ten year period mentioned. Evidence of this comes from the fact that agricultural production per head of the population rose between 1966 and 1975 almost by 25 per cent, even though the population of the country during this period increased by 23 million.

Fulfilling the Social Programme

During the years of the ninth five-year plan the population of the USSR rose by almost 12 million to reach 255.5 million by January 1, 1976. Of these 61 per cent lived in the towns and cities and 39 per cent in the countryside. The changes in the class composition of society attested to the continuing growth in share of the industrial and office workers, who now together with the non-working members of their families accounted for 83.6 per cent of the total (of these 61.2 per cent were industrial workers). Meanwhile the collective farm peasantry now comprised approximately one-sixth of the total population of the country.

Under the ninth five-year plan a social programme was implemented, the scale of which had no parallel in history.

Real per capita incomes rose almost by 25 per cent. Some 56 million persons received new housing, i.e., more than one million a month. Pensions, allowances and grants to students were increased. To give an idea of the character and scale of these changes, which took place with particular rapidity during the late sixties there is the fact that from 1965 to 1975 the number of families with a monthly income of one hundred roubles and more per family member rose eight and a half times. This indicates the radical changes that had occurred in the living standards of tens of millions of people.

The average monthly wages of industrial and office workers in 1975 were 146 roubles (i.e., double what they had been ten years previously). Between 1971 and 1975 the wages of collective

farmers rose by 25 per cent. At the same time there was a continuous increase in the social consumption funds used to finance free medical services and education, provide grants for students, subsidise the working people's stay at health care and recreation centres, pay for children to be looked after in nurseries and kindergartens and offer many other benefits. The social consumption funds help maintain low housing rents, public transport fares and amenity charges, which have remained unchanged now for several decades. If we add all the payments and benefits that are available from the social consumption funds, then average real earnings in 1975 amounted to almost 200 roubles as against 125 in 1965 and approximately 108 in 1960. Nor should it also be forgotten that since 1930 there has been no unemployment in the country.

As a result of this continued growth in real income, there was a systematic increase in the demand for food produce, for light industrial goods and for consumer goods of all types. The per capita demand for fabrics, footwear, knitwear and lingerie increased and year after year there was greater production of such items as clocks and watches, radio sets, television sets, refrigerators and washing machines.

On average every 100 families had:

	1965	1970	1975
Clocks and watches	319	411	455
Radios and gramophones	59	72	79
Television sets	24	51	74
Refrigerators	11	32	61
Washing machines	21	52	65
Bicycles and mopeds	48	50	54
Sewing machines	52	56	61

All in all under the ninth five-year plan the population bought more than 30 million television sets, almost 860,000 upright and grand pianos, more than 155 million clocks and watches and approximately 23 million fridges. For the first time the mass sale of automobiles took place. In 1975, 15 times as many were bought as in 1965 (between 1971 and 1975 a total of 3.3 million cars

were sold). These data are specially adduced to show not how many ready-made goods were produced over the given period, but how many were actually bought by the population as a whole. This approach to the question, which can easily be substantiated by a mass of similar data, gives an idea simultaneously of the amount of work done to supply such an internal market and increase the living standards of all sections of the working people. The data presented shows one of the most important synoptic indicators characterising the fulfillment of the main goal of the ninth five-year plan.

Regular polls among consumers indicated that the demand for many goods that were formally in short supply was to all intents and purposes satisfied (particularly in respect of watches and clocks, sewing machines and radios, etc.). But at the same time the demand for modern high-quality goods continued to rise. And this concerned not only clothes, footwear, and fabrics, but also furniture, colour television sets, and industrially processed food.

This phenomenon became typical of all Soviet industry and of the economy as a whole. Quantitative indicators, as always, were important. But with the volume of production and the absolute growth that had been achieved industry was facing new demands and goals. Workers in building, transport, agriculture and the service industries were increasingly in need of reliable technology that was easy to use. The very process of the scientific and technological revolution, accompanied as it was by increased power of machinery, enormous changes in such parameters as speed, pressure, and temperature, the growing complexity of technology and technological production processes and the building and exploitation of highly sophisticated equipment, put the question of production quality to the very forefront. Whether the demand was for metal, cement, automated lathes or the clothes and footwear for cosmonauts, tourists, sportsmen or the population at large, quality was the one thing that was insisted upon as never before. Of course, the need for quality production was not lost sight of before. But now new possibilities existed for its practical achievement. To a considerable extent these were the result of the general rise in cultural and educational levels and the training of skilled workers, specialists and scientists.

By 1975 there were 1.2 million scientific workers in the USSR, or a quarter of the total number in the world (in 1970 there had been 928,000). The total number of doctors had risen to 835,000, which was equal to almost one third of all the doctors in the world. The number of teachers had risen to 2.7 million, and there were now 3.7 million qualified engineers, i.e., just over three times more than in the United States. Finally in the same year, 1975, there was a total of 5 million students in higher educational establishments.

A new and fundamentally important step forward was made in the field of education. During the seventies the USSR introduced compulsory ten-year education, i.e., full secondary education. All pupils that had finished the eighth form were required either to finish their education in the ninth and tenth forms or to attend a technical college, or to enroll in vocational training school. This attests to the tremendous importance given in the USSR to education and the all-round development of the individual.

The introduction of the five-day working week (during the second half of the sixties) guaranteed the mass of the working people more than one hundred days off per year in addition to their paid annual holidays. How then did the Soviet people spend their free time? Approximately 15 million persons regularly participate in amateur arts groups. Those who devote their leisure to sport and physical culture represent an even larger section of the population. The Soviet voluntary sports clubs have a total membership of about 50 million, i.e., every fifth person in the country. The mass involvement in the arts, technology, science, winter and summer sports and tourism is encouraged by the favourable conditions that exist for the harmonious development of the individual.

Sociological research carried out by the UN in various countries has shown that adults in the USSR spend daily almost twice as much time reading as do adults in the United States, the FRG and France. The Soviet people are justly called the best read in the world. These same international studies showed that a fifth of the adult working population of the USSR spends its free time studying (in the developed capitalist countries this indicator is four times lower).

At the same time the Soviet Union stands at the head of the table for the greatest publication of books by foreign authors. There are several times more individual books translated in the USSR than in the United States, Britain, France and many other countries. A similar situation characterises the film industry and the theatre. Here in terms of the number of films purchased and plays by foreign authors translated into Russian, the Soviet Union is far ahead of the Western countries, including the United States, which it surpasses many times over.

The interest shown by the Soviet public in progressive writers, artists, musicians and scholars from all over the world is not accidental. It is an organic part of the overall rapid growth of Soviet culture, the intellectual enrichment of the builders of the new society and the insistent desire of the Soviet people to strengthen their cultural ties with other peoples in the interests of peace throughout the world. Significant in this respect is the attention which is shown in the Soviet Union to the study of foreign languages. In the curriculum of the secondary and higher educational schools the study of foreign languages has long held an important place. In 1975 there were some 12 million persons studying English, almost 11 million learning German and almost 2.5 million doing French.

The Soviet Union has always worked to expand scientific contacts. This has been to a large extent helped by the holding of international congresses and conferences by various organisations in the USSR and also by the active participation of Soviet research workers in similar congresses and symposiums held abroad. In particular there was a wide response for the 250th Anniversary of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which was widely celebrated in 1975. The ceremonies in Moscow were attended by many prominent scholars and thousands of congratulatory letters and telegrams were received from major scientific centres and institutes each of which paid tribute to the role of Soviet science in the life of the country and in the cultural progress of the whole of mankind.

During this period the scientific ties between the USSR and the CMEA countries were made even stronger. In 1975 for example almost 4,500 Soviet scientists visited the socialist countries and some 5,000 scientists from these countries came to the USSR,

The need for such exchange becomes understandable when it is realised that joint research was carried out that year on almost 500 different subjects. The trend for long-term scientific agreements to be concluded with other states has been noted elsewhere. In 1975 agreements of this sort were signed with Finland, India and Italy. Negotiations were begun on cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Sciences in the United States. The usefulness and promising nature of such cooperation was shown to the whole world by the joint experiments in outer space that were undertaken by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1975. For more than three years great teams of specialists from these two countries made preparations for an experiment which would in actual fact last only a few days. But before the spacecraft Soyuz and Apollo actually went into Earth orbit, events of enormous historical significance had taken place. We mean detente and changes for the better in the Soviet-US relations. Of course, the advances in space technology are important for without them the space flight is inconceivable. But no less important are long-term friendly contacts in such a complex endeavour as space exploration. They embody the grand opportunities for universal prosperity and happy life that international cooperation holds in store for the whole mankind.

The 25th CPSU Congress Sets New Targets

According to the tradition which has developed in the USSR the analysis of the results of the last five-year plan is always accompanied by the study of the new targets contained in the next plan for national economic development. This also occurred in late 1975, almost three months before the opening of the 25th Party Congress, when the central, republican and regional newspapers published a draft document prepared by the CPSU Central Committee for the 25th Party Congress, entitled "Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980". Immediately there began a discussion in which all Party organisations, all enterprises and institutions and practically the whole country participated. Enormous work in this

was done by the press. *Pravda,* for example, regularly publicised material under the general heading "The Frontiers of the Tenth Five-Year Plan". For more than two months approximately from a fifth to a quarter of all the information in the paper was devoted directly to this theme. And during this time the paper received some 9,000 articles and letters on both the past and the future five-year plans. This theme was at the centre of attention of all organs of the press, radio and television.

At the same time all over the country meetings were held at which 7.6 million people spoke. Finally, after a genuinely nationwide discussion the working people made more than one million suggestions based on the experience gained during the ninth five-year plan and aimed at improving the plan for the tenth five-year period.

Thus, Lenin's words about the need to bring to Party congresses the collective experience of the people that had been carefully checked and weighed were given practical expression. The collective wisdom of the people, Lenin was wont to repeat again and again, is capable of creating something that is far and away beyond the powers of any individual genius.

The 25th CPSU Congress opened in Moscow on February 24, 1976. More than 5,000 delegates representing almost 15.7 million Soviet Communists gathered together in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. In the five years that had elapsed since the 24th Congress the Party membership had increased by 2.6 million Communists, and now accounted for some 9.3 per cent of the total adult population of the country. Most of those admitted as candidate members during this period (57.6 per cent) were workers (as against 52 per cent in the period 1966-1970 and 44.7 per cent in the period 1962-1965). All in all on January 1, 1976 almost 42 per cent of all members of the Communist Party were industrial workers in terms of their social position, some 14 per cent were peasants (collective farmers) and 44 per cent were office workers. Among the latter engineers, technicians and agricultural specialists accounted for 40 per cent and workers in science, education, medical services, literature and the arts comprised 24 per cent. The number of Communists with higher or complete secondary specialised education had risen from 56.3 per cent in 1970 to 65.3 per cent in 1975. It is also a significant fact

that given the overall increase in the number of Communist Party members in industry their numbers were particularly noticeable in those sectors which determined technological progress and held the leading positions in economic development (i.e., the electronics industry, the precision instruments industry and the automation and control systems industry).

The above data reflect the great quantitative and qualitative changes that had taken place in the life of the Communist Party in conditions of mature socialism, the further growth of its prestige and the enhancement of its leading role in Soviet society.

The main reports at the Congress were delivered by L. I. Brezhnev and A. N. Kosygin. The first of these was "Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy", the second was "Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980". The Congress lasted from February 24 to March 5, 1976. Day after day the delegates discussed questions relating to the international situation, the growth of the forces of socialism and the new stage in building a classless society in the USSR. The Congress was also attended by 103 delegations of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the national democratic and socialist parties from 96 countries. The whole course of the Congress and the speeches made by the foreign delegates were a clear manifestation of proletarian internationalism.

The Congress analysed the results of the implementation of the Peace Programme advanced by the 24th Congress. This Programme was being implemented in conditions of the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Attempts to resolve capitalist contradictions by means of economic regulation had failed. Production was down and unemployment up in the majority of capitalist countries, particularly in the United States, Britain, West Germany and Japan. This slump had been closely interconnected with such serious upheavals as the currency, energy and raw materials crisis. Inflation was reaching unprecedented proportions.

At the same time the world revolutionary process was broadening and intensifying, the class struggle of the working people against the oppression of capitalist monopolies was growing and the national liberation movement was now advancing on a wide

front. The growth of the forces of socialism was now of decisiv importance for the fate of the world. This was visibly demonstra ed by the end of the Vietnam War where the most serious imp rialist attempt since the Second World War to destroy a socia ist state by force of arms and crush the national liberation revo lution collapsed. At the same time freedom was also won by th peoples of Laos and Cambodia, and Angola, Mozambique, Gu nea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands were freed from th yoke of Portuguese colonialism.

A very significant sign of the times was the European Confe ence on Security and Cooperation, which was held in Augu 1975 in Helsinki. The leaders of 33 European states as well a of the US and Canada gathered in the Finnish capital to sig the Final Act of the Conference, which had taken ten years t prepare and lasted two years. As had been proposed by the So viet Government the participants at the Conference sealed wit their signatures the most important results of the Second Worl War. Of particular importance in this context was the recogni tion of the German Democratic Republic, its acceptance into th United Nations Organisation and the international recognitio of the western borders of the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia Thus, favourable conditions were created for maintaining an strengthening peace on the European continent and beyon its borders.

Continuing its struggle to put an end to the arms race and fo disarmament the Soviet Union made a proposal to the Unite States that the two countries should not stop at just limiting exis ing types of strategic weapons. After the meeting in Vladivosto in 1974 between L. I. Brezhnev and President Ford at whic important agreements had been reached, Soviet leaders mad frequent proposals to ban the production of new types of nuclea submarines carrying ballistic missiles and new strategic bomber But the United States was still unwilling to accept these propos als. Hence the need arose for the further struggle to give a ma terial substance to detente and search for new ways for develop ing peaceful mutually advantageous cooperation between state with different social systems. The delegates at the Congress spok resolutely of the need to end the growing arms race, whic presented a threat to the whole world, reduce current stockpile

of weapons and begin disarmament. Particularly stressed was the importance of the conclusion of international treaties on universal and complete cessation of nuclear weapons tests, prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, banning the development of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons and prohibiting the modification of the environment for military or any other hostile purposes. The question was raised of the need to call as soon as possible a World Conference on disarmament. The delegates gave their unanimous support for the policy of the Soviet Government to fully implement the Final Act of the European Conference. All these proposals were the organic continuation and development of the Peace Programme advanced in 1971 at the 24th CPSU Congress. At the same time they were a programme for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples of the world in the second half of the 1970s.

The 25th Congress expressed the unswerving desire of the CPSU to strictly observe the principles of proletarian internationalism, the powerful and tested weapon of the Communist and Workers' Parties. The delegates unanimously adopted the statement entitled: "Freedom for the Prisoners of Imperialism and Reaction!" A resolution was also passed to erect a monument in Moscow in memory of the heroes of the communist and working-class movement, who fell at the hands of the class enemies.

Alongside its analysis of the international situation, the Congress devoted considerable attention to the Party's internal policy, particularly in the economic sphere.

The tenth five-year plan was drawn up as a direct continuation of the ninth, for they both had identical goals: to achieve a steady rise in the material and cultural standards of the people. The tenth five-year plan was an important stage in creating the material and technical basis of communism, improving social relations and moulding the new man. This was a period of the growing intensification of social production, the fuller utilisation of the advantages of mature socialism for the multiplication of national wealth and the strengthening of the economic might and defence capabilities of the USSR.

At the level reached by the Soviet economy in the mid-seven-

ties and with the scale of production being what it was decisive significance attached, as has already been mentioned, not so much to subsequent growth rates, as to the quality of output. The tenth five-year plan therefore became known as the five-year plan of efficiency and quality. The 25th Congress stressed: "The cardinal task of the five-year period is to consistently implement the Communist Party's policy of promoting the people's living standards and cultural level on the basis of a dynamic and balanced development of social production and enhancement of its efficiency, the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, the growth of labour productivity and the utmost improvement of the quality of the work in every sector of the national economy."[1]

Under developed socialism the achievement of this goal guaranteed rapid progress in all aspects of the material and cultural life of the Soviet people. Calculations show that in the fifteen years that have elapsed since the adoption of the CPSU Programme (i.e., 1961-1975) real per capita income has approximately doubled, while the total volume of goods and services has increased by approximately 140 per cent. Hence a conclusion can be drawn as to the kind of goals that ought to be pursued over the next fifteen years. From the data prepared for the 25th CPSU Congress it is evident that from 1976 to 1990 the country will have approximately twice as many material and financial resources as it had during the fifteen-year period from 1961 to 1975.

Consequently there is a real prospect for achieving a qualitatively new level in raising the well-being of the Soviet people and improving their conditions of life and labour. This means considerable progress in health services, education and culture, everything in fact that promotes the moulding of a harmoniously developed individual and improves the socialist way of life.

The Congress was finally concluded with elections to the leading organs of the Party. At the first Plenum of the new Central Committee L. I. Brezhnev was unanimously re-elected General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

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[1] A. N. Kosygin, *Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 24.

4. THE CONSTITUTION OF MATURE SOCIALISM

The Drafting and Adoption of the New Constitution

Lenin and the Communist Party always considered the Constitution as the consolidation of the revolutionary gains and the proclamation of the fundamental goals in the building of socialism. Such was the Constitution of the RSFSR adopted in 1918, which legally formalised the first achievements of the October Revolution and defined the class essence of the Soviet state as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Russia was declared the Republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, one of the main aims of which consisted in establishing the socialist organisation of society. The 1924 Constitution of the USSR consolidated the principles of the formation of a union socialist state. Finally, the 1936 Constitution of the USSR gave legislative embodiment to the victory in the Soviet Union of socialist social relations. The political basis of the USSR now became the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Having achieved the main goals of the transition period from capitalism to socialism in just two decades, the peoples of the USSR were able to take up the planned building of society, which henceforth developed on its own basis. Obviously in these conditions the advantages of the new social system began to appear more fully and extensively. And although fascist aggression temporarily held back the country's forward progress, by the turn of the sixties it had already become clear that socialism in the USSR had proved fully and finally victorious. The rapid changes that took place in all spheres of the material and cultural life of the country reflected with increasing clarity the essential characteristics of the contemporary stage of the building of communism.

Lenin frequently had occasion to say that after working for hundreds of years for their lords and masters the workers and peasants had finally cast off the yoke of exploitation and were now for the first time free and ready to work for themselves and in their own interests, and that this liberated labour could create miracles. Reality has fully confirmed the justice of his prophetic words. But developed socialism has not only given new confirma-

tion of this, but has revealed whole new vistas for applying the creative energy of the masses.

In preparation for the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Central Statistical Board of the USSR published a jubilee statistical handbook on the development of the country's economy. Though printed in many thousands of copies, the book immediately sold out, and this was hardly surprising, for each of its section, each of its pages gave a vivid impression of the path so far traversed by the country, of the victories it had won and of the world-historical importance of the Soviet experience in building the economy of a mature socialist society. One of the most impressive tables was that headed: "One Day in the Life of the Country". The following is a selection made from that table, showing the average daily production of certain important types of indusrtial output:

	1940	1977
Electric power (millions of kw. hours)	133	3,178
Oil including gas condensate (thousands of tonnes)	85	1,507
Natural gas (millions of cubic metres)	8.8	937
Coal (thousands of tonnes)	453	2,009
Steel (ditto)	50	417
Tractors (units)	86	1,553
Cars (ditto)	397	5,675
Fabrics (millions of metres)	9.1	29.2
Leather footwear (thousands of pairs)	580	2,034

The importance of each of these achievements was even greater for the fact that as before the economic upsurge in the tenth five-year plan was accompanied by the implementation of a social programme that was planned for these years. In conditions of full employment the number of industrial and office workers increased in 1976 by two million to make a total of 104.2 million; 15 million were employed on the collective farms. With a general rise in the real incomes of all the working people, the average monthly wage of industrial and office workers was in excess of 151 roubles.

The statistics contained in this handbook told of increased retail trade, greater numbers of students, doctors and scientific workers, of the fact that, for example, in 1976 six or seven books and pamphlets were published for every member of the population and that 11 million received new flats. But perhaps the most astonishing thing is the fact that this information would hardly astound anyone in the USSR. The Soviet people look upon these changes as the norm, as part of the natural way of Soviet life.

In a word, this handbook was one more convincing proof of how much the country has progressed since the pre-war years. It was with regard for this whole complex of changes that had taken place in the country since that time, and after an analysis of the first experience in history in building developed socialism, of the radical changes in the correlation of forces in the international arena and of the current tasks facing the country, that the Party raised the question of drafting a new Constitution of the USSR. The commission under the chairmanship of L. I. Brezhnev, which was specially set up for this purpose, carefully prepared a draft Constitution and in May 1977 this was first passed for examination to the Politburo and then to the Plenum of the Central Committee.

The Plenum on the whole approved the draft Constitution which was then submitted for nationwide discussion. The same Plenum then considered it to be expedient that L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, should also occupy the post of Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Reflecting the steady growth of the role of the Communist Party in the life of society, this decision met with the unanimous approval of the June Session of the Supreme Soviet, which elected Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev to the highest post in the country.

The decisive criterion of the quality of all the preparatory work that had gone into drafting the new Constitution of the USSR was its nationwide discussion. This discussion, which began in early June, lasted for four months. During that period one and a half million meetings were held all over the country—at enterprises, and institutions, on collective farms, in military units and at sessions of the local and Supreme Soviets of the Union repub-

lics. And at every one of these meetings the draft was approved. Furthermore, a giant stream of letters flooded into Party committees, government institutions, newspapers, and radio and TV stations. All in all 140 million people took part in the discussion, i.e., over four-fifths of the adult population of the country. And although national referendums have long been traditional for the Soviet people, the country had never known political activity on such a scale. Altogether some 400,000 proposals were made for amendments to individual articles, which were intended to clarify, improve or supplement the draft wording. The vast majority of these reflected the desire to show clearly the role of labour and the work collective under socialism and to stress that Soviet society consists only of working classes and social groups and that any evasion of socially useful labour is incompatible with the principles of socialism.

The nationwide discussion of the draft Constitution soon developed into an all-Union exchange of views on the most important aspects of the life of Soviet society. With feelings of patriotism and pride in their country and in their Communist Party millions of people spoke and wrote about the achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on the triumph of Soviet democracy, on the gains of socialism in the fields of economy and culture, on the friendship between the Soviet peoples and on the magnificent principles of proletarian internationalism. At the same time there were also critical notes concerning the daily work of the various enterprises, ministries and creative unions, and concrete suggestions were made for eliminating shortcomings.

The Constitutional Commission studied carefully the various amendments and proposals and finally made changes to 110 articles in the draft and suggested adding one new article. At the same time the Commission highly appreciated the interest shown by all those who had sent in letters, or spoken at meetings or appeared on the radio or television with various ideas for improving the work of the state apparatus, public organisations and enterprises. Many of the proposals received were forwarded to the AUCTUC, or the all-Union ministries and committees or the organs of people's control. Thus, by going beyond the framework of an analysis of the text, the nationwide discussion of the

draft Constitution became a powerful factor promoting the further progress of the material and cultural life of the Soviet Union.

The great enthusiasm of the working people which was shown so clearly in the course of the nationwide discussion of the draft Constitution once more demonstrated the intransient significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution. People all over the world could see once more that the greatest victory of socialism was the moulding of the new man, who was not alienated from the state and who considered the interests of the state and of the whole people to be his own closest interests.

On October 4, 1977 an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was opened in Moscow. On that day along with deputies gathered in the Kremlin the whole country thanks to radio and television listened to the report on the draft Constitution and the results of its nationwide discussion delivered by L. I. Brezhnev. After this discussions took place at which representatives from all the Union republics took part. In all, 92 deputies made speeches. They all, just like those deputies who had made their proposals in written form, expressed the will of their constituents when they gave their warm-hearted support to the draft Constitution. On October 7, 1977 the Supreme Soviet of the USSR completed this enormous task which had begun with the drawing up and discussion of the draft. And at the moment when all the deputies voted unanimously for the adoption of the new Fundamental Law of the Soviet state, this historical document received the simultaneous approval of the whole country.

Thus on October 7, 1977 the new Constitution of the first socialist state of the whole people was adopted in Moscow and a new historical landmark on the road to communism—the building of a developed socialist society—was legislatively formalised.

The Fundamental Law of Soviet Society

The Constitution of the USSR adopted on October 7, 1977 preserved and developed the characteristic features of the socialist type constitution outlined by Lenin and embodied in the previous Constitutions of 1918, 1924 and 1936. Enriching the experience of the past and reflecting the demands of the present

age, the new Constitution of the USSR crowned the work that had been done by the Soviet people in the sixty years since the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Constitution of the USSR is the Fundamental Law of the state, in which a developed socialist society has been created and the aim of which is the building of communism. In so far as the USSR is a state of the whole people, the Soviets were henceforth to be called the Soviets of People's Deputies. Any citizen of the USSR who has reached the age of 18 may be elected a People's Deputy for any Soviet except the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, for which the electoral age is 21.

A special article is devoted to the Communist Party as the leading and guiding force in Soviet society. The rights of Soviet citizens are clearly formulated and the material guarantees behind them are stronger than ever. This can be illustrated from a few comparisons. The total volume of gross social product for the year 1936 could be produced in 1977 in just one month. Since 1936 assets-to-worker ration in material production industries has risen 14-fold, and power-to-worker ratio in industry has increased almost eightfold and in agriculture more than 15-fold. In 1936 some 14.9 million square metres of housing were built; in 1977 the figure was almost eight times as much. In 1936 an average of 21 roubles per head came to the population through various payments and benefits out of the social consumption funds; in 1977 this sum was more than 18 times as much.

The Constitution of developed socialism supplemented the right of citizens to work with the right to choose a trade or profession, type of job and work in accordance with their inclinations, abilities, training and education with due account of the needs of society. Now citizens are guaranteed the right to health protection and to housing. As regards the right to education, this now implies universal compulsory secondary education and the broad development of vocational, specialised secondary, and higher education.

The political rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens are formulated more fully than before. Special chapters have been introduced on social development and culture, on the foreign policy of the USSR and on the defence of the socialist Motherland.

On the whole, the main direction of what is new in the Con-

stitution of developed socialism lies in the extension and deepening of socialist democracy which is indissolubly bound up with the Soviet economic system, the basis of which is socialist ownership of the means of production. Naturally, the Fundamental Law stresses the obligation of the citizen to work conscientiously and to defend the Motherland. Here for the first time are also fixed the obligations of each citizen to protect the interests of the state, to promote the strengthening of its might and prestige, do everything to preserve the public order, combat misappropriation, protect nature and preserve cultural values.

The 1977 Constitution was the first Soviet Constitution to state that the USSR is an integral part of the world system of socialism, of the socialist community.

Thus, drawing on the experience they had accumulated over the 60 years of Soviet power and creatively utilising the achievements of the fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet people produced a Constitution, the like of which history has never known. It is understandable, therefore, that the day on which the Constitution was adopted has been proclaimed a national holiday to be celebrated annually.

A month after the establishment of the new Constitution of the USSR the country celebrated the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. And the fact that these two great events in the life of the Soviet people coincided in time reveals a deep internal connection, for the new Fundamental Law of the state was the concentrated result of the development of the Land of Soviets throughout the sixty years of its existence.

Sixty years is not a long period in history. But during that period the world's first socialist country covered an enormous distance and made truly astounding progress. The main cause of this accelerated development Lenin saw in the fact that the creation of a new society became the work of the broad masses of the people. "Creative activity at the grass roots is the basic factor of the new public life... Socialism cannot be decreed from above. Its spirit rejects the mechanical bureaucratic approach; living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves."[1]

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Meeting of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, November 4 (17) 1917", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 288.

Of these 60 years almost one-third was taken up with wars that had been foisted upon the Soviet people by their enemies and the restoration of the national economy that had been destroyed as a result of these wars. Only a little more than four decades had been devoted to the socialist restructuring of the life of the people and its further development. But how much was achieved in that short time and how unrecognisably was the face of the country transformed! The whole world can see the grandiose social and economic transformations and the high prestige and influence of the Soviet Union.

Sixty years of Soviet power have been sixty flaming years of struggle and achievement, that have laid the path for all peoples of the world to socialism.

The adoption of the Constitution and the 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution are an important landmark in the history of the USSR and in the history of the world revolutionary movement as a whole. Having built developed socialism and crossed the frontiers from which the day-to-day building of communist society begins, the Soviet people enrich with every step forward they make the total experience of world socialism. The whole of mankind can see that in the scales of history the Soviet Union places the epoch-making gains of its working people, that have been achieved due to the power of the working class under the guidance of the Communist Party.

"The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution has put our country and our people in the vanguard of social progress," L. I. Brezhnev said in his speech at the jubilee session held in Moscow to mark the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.[1]

This same idea was contained in all the speeches of the guests who arrived in Moscow for the jubilee celebrations from 104 different countries. "The facts show," said Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and President of the State Council of the GDR, "that the twentieth century is a century of historic victor-

[1] L. I. Brezhnev, *The Great October Socialist Revolution and Mankind's Progress*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, p. 11.

ies for the proletariat, a century of progress, of socialism—and all this thanks to Lenin's Communist Party and the great Soviet people."

In his speech Antonio Maidana, Chairman of the Paraguayan Communist Party, spoke of his deep gratitude and love for the Soviet Union: "The victories of the Soviet Union, your struggle and your achievements are the main thing that sustained us for 19 years in fascist prisons, and inspires all the champions of the interests of the peoples, of freedom and independence."

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, called the October Revolution a new star. "A star of a different quality, cast in a new mould, made its explosive appearance on the horizon of human development. For 60 years the light that radiates from it has become ever brighter, the orbit of its influence ever larger."

These same feelings were echoed by the whole of progressive mankind celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR and the Constitutions of the Union and Autonomous republics that were based on it stimulated the whole social and political life of the country. The policy for expanding and deepening socialist democracy and for broader participation of the working people in the running of the economy and the affairs of society as a whole had been pursued previously. But now it became more comprehensive, being set out and implemented in its totality. At the elections to the local Soviets in 1977 the deputies received more than 776,000 mandates. Check-ups showed that the overwhelming majority of these were fulfilled. To a large extent this was due to the enhanced responsibility of deputies, to a greater emphasis on their accountability to the electorate and to the growing number of activists who were taking part in the daily work of the Soviets and their commissions. On average there were fourteen activists to every deputy. This means that over 31 million people, that is to say one out of every five or six electors, voluntarily helped the Soviets to carry on their day to day work.

The Soviets were mainly concerned with problems of economic planning, budgeting, improving the economy, creating the necessary conditions for satisfying the material and cultural require-

ments of the working people and providing them with facilities for leisure. In accordance with the general targets set by the 25th Party Congress particular stress was laid on integral economic and social development in the various regions, the effective utilisation of labour resources and the production of more consumer goods. The policy of intensifying production demanded increased control on the part of the Soviets over labour and state discipline at the enterprises and institutions.

The new Constitution placed exceptionally important functions on the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which was empowered to deal with all matters within the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The effectiveness of its day to day activity was ensured by the work of the session, its Presidium, the thirty standing commissions of the two chambers and the deputies themselves.

The rapidly growing scale of communist construction and the active participation in it of increasingly broader sections of the working people considerably raised the importance of the economic, organising, cultural and educational functions of the state. In the seventies alone the national income went up by 115 billion roubles and in 1977 it was in excess of 405 billion roubles. There were gigantic increases in state allocations too, one-third of which went on social, cultural and scientific needs.

This helps to make it clear why the work of the higher bodies of authority has become so complex, why decisions made by the Supreme Soviet have become so important and why such a conscious creative attitude on the part of the people is so essential to their day to day implementation. After the adoption of the new Constitution *Izvestia* ran a regular feature, which gave systematic and detailed information on the work of individual deputies and standing commissions, and the sessions of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet were directly televised. These measures to keep the public extensively informed about the work of the highest body of state authority were of fundamental importance, for it is in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, as L. I. Brezhnev noted, that the most important levers of state meet to influence public life.

Invigorating the work of the Soviets as the mass, all-embracing organisations of the working people is part of the general

policy of the Party to further the development of socialist democracy and make every citizen feel that he is the master of his own country. The Constitution of the USSR formalised the right of every Soviet citizen to submit proposals to state bodies and public organisations aimed at improving their work, and to criticise shortcomings in their work. At the same time officials are obliged to examine such proposals within established time-limits, to reply to them, and to take appropriate action. The subject matter of the letters, questions and proposals sent in shows the creative attitude of the people to their work and their desire to show initiative. And this alone is an indicator of the ideological and civic maturity of the Soviet people.

The nationwide discussion and the adoption of the new Constitution helped to raise not only the work of all the Soviet organs from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the urban and rural Soviets to a new level, but also the whole social and political life of the country. They invigorated the work of the Party, trade union, youth and other organisations aimed at achieving the complex goals of the country's further development: fulfilling the tenth five-year plan, improving methods of economic management and effecting the ideological, political, labour and moral education of the Soviet people.

5. THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTIES. THE 26TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Deterioration of the International Situation in the Late Seventies

Throughout the seventies the Soviet Union did everything in its power to put into effect the Peace Programme of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses. It unswervingly pursued a policy of peaceful coexistence, detente and mutually advantageous cooperation with the capitalist countries on the one hand, and offered a resolute rebuff to all attempts at imperialist aggression, on the other. As a result of seven years of difficult negotiations a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-2) was signed in

1979 in Vienna between the USSR and the United States. The treaty was based on the recognition by both sides of the need to maintain rough parity in military strength of East and West, the USSR and the United States. On the initiative of the USSR a special session of the UN was called in 1978 to discuss disarmament. At the same time frequent constructive proposals were made by the USSR to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and at the Vienna talks on the reduction of arms and armed forces in Central Europe. In 1979 the Soviet Union reduced its armed forces stationed in the GDR by 20,000 men and 1,000 tanks.

During the same period, however, in the United States and some other capitalist countries forces became dominant that aimed to undermine detente, exacerbate the international situation and step up the arms race and military preparations. Under pressure from the United States NATO countries decided at their May 1978 session in Washington to automatically increase their military spending every year almost till the end of the present century. In December 1979 these countries decided to install some 600 new American medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. Government circles in Washington postponed indefinitely the ratification of the SALT-2 treaty by the Senate and did everything they could to further the designs of the Pentagon and other aggressive forces aimed at discrediting this treaty and preventing its ratification. They used all means at their disposal up to and including armed intervention in a bid to restore US domination in Iran. Through the conclusion of the Camp David Agreements with Israel and the Sadat Government of Egypt, through the setting up of military bases in a number of Middle East and neighbouring countries and through the stationing in these areas of rapid deployment forces, the United States has been trying to ensure its domination and continued military presence in this part of the world. In 1978 the United States and some of its underlings began an undeclared war against revolutionary Afghanistan (and in 1981 the White House openly declared its intention to provide arms for the bands of rebels invading that country.)

Ruling circles in the United States renounced their recent recognition of the need to maintain parity in military strength of

the USSR and US and once more began to shout about the "Soviet threat". By the late seventies they had sharply stepped up the development of new types of strategic nuclear weapons and were even talking about the possibility of a "limited" nuclear war. US annual military expenditure reached hitherto unprecedented proportions, amounting in 1979 to 150 billion dollars. The governments of several other major capitalist countries revealed their intention of abetting US militarist designs, as did the leaders of the People's Republic of China, whose policies, directed as they were to aggravating the international situation, had much in common with those of the imperialist powers.

All this led to increased tension in the international arena and intensified the danger of war.

The 26th CPSU Congress. Summing up the Results of the Seventies and Outlining the Development Goals for the Next Decade

The 26th CPSU Congress was held in Moscow from February 23 to March 3, 1981. It was an important landmark in the life of the Soviet people. The Congress heard and discussed the Central Committee Report which was delivered by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The report on the guidelines for the economic and social development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the period ending in 1990 was delivered by the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, N. A. Tikhonov.

The importance which was attached to the 26th Congress not only by Communists throughout the world but also by workers' and other progressive parties and organisations abroad can be seen from the fact that the Congress was attended by 123 delegations from 109 different countries.

Intense work was carried on during the eight days of the Congress, in which delegates from 17.5 million Communists participated.

Matters relating to the Party's economic policy occupied the centre of attention at the Congress together with the determina-

tion of ways to achieve further economic progress in the period of developed socialism.

The Congress summarised the main results of the development of the USSR during the seventies and under the tenth five-year plan. During the seventies the volume of gross social product rose by 70 per cent and the national income used for both consumption and accumulation increased by 50 per cent.

The increment in industrial production over the decade was approximately equal to the total volume of industrial production in both Britain and France in the year 1980. Over the same period the productivity of labour went up by almost fifty per cent. Such industries as atomic engineering, space technology, electronics and microelectronics, microbiology, laser technology and the production of various synthetic materials were either rapidly developed or begun anew. Under the tenth five-year plan alone more than 1,200 major industrial enterprises were built.

Major territorial-industrial complexes were set up in the European part of the RSFSR, in the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan and Central Asia. The result of this was, for example, that oil production in North-Western Siberia rose from 31 million tonnes in 1970 to 312 million tonnes in 1980.

Large industrial centres also developed rapidly in these areas producing modern machinery, lathes, instruments and other equipment. Great opportunities for developing the northern and eastern regions of the country were provided by the Baikal-Amur Railway, more than half of which by 1980 had already been built.

Large-scale hydroelectric, thermal and nuclear power stations were put into operation. The output of the machine building industry rose over the decade by 170 per cent, instrument manufacture went up by 230 per cent and the production of computer technology increased 10-fold.

The technological basis of agriculture too was considerably strengthened. Capital investments over the decade amounted to more than 300 billion roubles, which was 2.3 times as much as in the previous decade. As a result, despite several climatically bad years, the average annual grain yield was 205 million tonnes and the cotton harvest in 1980 was almost ten million tonnes.

The successful economic development of the Soviet Union made it possible during the seventies to introduce a broad programme of social development and raise the living standards of the people. The minimum wage was increased as were the wages of all middle-income groups. Average monthly wages in 1980 amounted to more than 168 roubles which represented an increase of 40 per cent. The wages of collective farmers rose even more rapidly. Payments and benefits from the social consumption funds almost doubled. Increases were made in the minimum pensions and in grants to students at higher, secondary specialised and vocational-training schools. Pupils in the first five classes at school received their text-books free. The production of consumer goods almost doubled. During the seventies more housing was built than the entire housing space available in cities and towns at the early sixties.

There was a substantial rise in the cultural and educational level of the working people. In 1980 three-quarters of the working people had at least eight-year education (an increase of some 25 per cent since 1970), while the number of collective farmers with the same level of education had risen from 39 per cent in 1970 to slightly more than 60 per cent in 1980. It is also characteristic that each year of the decade saw an increased number of young specialists entering industry after receiving professional and technical education. Their total number from 1970 to 1980 amounted to 12.5 million, i.e., two-thirds of all workers coming into industry. There were corresponding changes in the character of labour. With the introduction of more and more technology, automation and electronic computers and higher educational level of new work force labour became more and more intellectualised.

The changes in the social structure of Soviet society attested to the effectiveness of Party and state policy aimed at accelerating social homogeneity. By 1980 two-thirds of the working population (some 80 million persons) were members of the working class. Already during the sixties and seventies the working class had comprised the majority of the population and this accounted for greater influx of workers into the organs of power and into the Party, trade-union and Komsomol committees.

The convergence of the two forms of socialist property and

the development of the joint agro-industrial enterprises (which amalgamated collective farms and state enterprises) had a substantial effect on the social structure of the countryside. And although there still remained considerable distinctions between town and countryside and, obviously a long period of time and effort was still needed to improve cultural standards and conditions of everyday life in the countryside, the social policy of the Party and the state was accelerating the drawing together of all classes and social groups in Soviet society. At the 26th CPSU Congress the thesis was advanced that a classless society would be to all intents and purposes formed within the historical framework of mature socialism.

The Congress noted that the main goal of the eleventh five-year plan (1981-85) consisted in securing a further rise in the well-being of the Soviet people on the basis of steady and stable economic development, the acceleration of scientific and technological progress and economic intensification, the more rational utilisation of productive potential, and the all-round economising of resources and improvement of quality. The concrete ways and means of the practical realisation of these tasks were formulated in the "Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period Ending in 1990".

In outlining the goals of the eleventh five-year plan and for the whole period up till 1990, the 26th CPSU Congress proceded from the assumption that over this decade the economic foundations would be laid upon which the Soviet Union would enter the 21st century. Hence the desire to plan economic and social processes so that their general course and results embody the ideals and features of the new classless society. Accordingly, the Congress re-emphasised the primary importance of fully intensifying production and completing this process during the eighties. Following the pattern set by the 24th and 25th congresses, the Central Committee Report contained a separate section on science, technology and the development of the scientific and technological revolution.

The Congress outlined both the social and economic policy of the Party under developed socialism and its line with regard to national relations, the moulding of the new man and the

development of the Soviet political system. It also devoted particular attention to the political, organisational, ideological and educational work of the CPSU.

A proposal made by L. I. Brezhnev in the Central Committee Report for the redrafting of the Party Programme was fully supported by the Congress. The present Party Programme on the whole correctly mirrors the laws of social development, but in the two decades that had elapsed since its adoption, vast experience in the building of socialism and communism had been accrued, major changes had taken place in international life and Marxist-Leninist theory had been enriched with new conclusions and theses. The Congress pointed out that the CPSU Programme should give a deep scientific reflection of the important changes that had taken place in the life of the Soviet people and in world social development. With regard for all this, therefore, the Congress instructed the Party Central Committee to introduce the necessary amendments and additions into the present Party Programme and redraft it by the next CPSU Congress.

The Congress reviewed the work of the Party and its Central Committee in strengthening friendship, cooperation and mutual aid between the socialist countries, and in further deepening socialist integration on the basis of long-term specific programmes. During the period under review, the USSR cooperated successfully with the other socialist countries that are members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Through the joint efforts of these countries the 3,000-kilometre-long Soyuz gas pipeline, which brought gas at specially reduced cost to a number of European CMEA member-states, was built in the second half of the seventies. The Mir power grid was extended with new transmission lines to become the largest of its kind in the world. Other examples of joint cooperation by CMEA member-states included the Erdenet ore-dressing works in Mongolia and the nickel plants in Cuba.

Through the Intercosmos programme joint space flights were begun in 1978 in which cosmonauts from other countries participated jointly with Soviet cosmonauts (by the time of the 26th Congress cosmonauts from Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba, Vietnam and Mongolia had participated in these flights).

Some idea of the scale of the economic ties between the CMEA countries under the tenth five-year plan can be got from the fact that Soviet imports from the other CMEA countries amounted to 90 billion roubles and exports to these countries totalled 98 billion roubles. Furthermore, there were special situations which required the sending of emergency aid to fraternal countries as, for example, to Vietnam in 1979 when that country became a victim of Chinese aggression. The USSR and the other socialist-community countries put into practice their loyalty to the principles of socialist internationalism and urgently sent to Vietnam food, medicine, building materials and arms. This was also the case with Kampuchea, which had been devastated by the Pol Pot clique of Peking henchmen.

The Congress noted the successful development of cooperation between the USSR and the countries that had liberated themselves from colonialism in the post-war period. Political, economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union had provided much help to these newly-free states in building a new life. Cooperation with India held a prominent place in the USSR's relations with newly-free countries and the treaties of friendship and cooperation concluded by the Soviet Union with Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and Syria did much to serve the interests of the people and the cause of peace.

Considerable attention was paid at the Congress to the ties between the CPSU and the world communist movement. L. I. Brezhnev said in his report to the 26th CPSU Congress: "The great unifying principle, a powerful factor furthering cohesion and enhancing the prestige of the world communist movement, is the Communists' unremitting struggle for peace, against imperialism's aggressive policy, and the arms race that carries with it the danger of a nuclear disaster."[1]

The Congress noted the fresh victories of the world revolutionary movement during the seventies, particularly the revolu-

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[1] L. I. Brezhnev, *Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1981, pp. 24-25.

tions in Ethiopia, Afghanistan and Nicaragua, the overthrow of the anti-popular regime in Iran and the final collapse of the colonial empires.

In its review of the situation in the capitalist world at the end of the seventies the Congress stressed that that decade had witnessed a further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and a shrinking of the sphere of imperialist domination in the world. By the end of the seventies the economic slump in the capitalist world had been accompanied by inflation on an unprecedented scale. Since 1970 prices had risen on average by 130 per cent and unemployment had doubled reaching a total of 19 million.

The exacerbation of the difficulties of capitalism and the intensification of inter-imperialist contradictions and the scramble for markets, raw materials and energy sources had also affected the foreign policy of the capitalist states. The aggressiveness of imperialist policy, notably that of US imperialism, had sharply increased.

For Detente and Peace, to Avert the Threat of a New War

Against the desire of US imperialism and its lackeys to increase international tension, step up the arms race, expand their network of military bases and preparate for a nuclear war the 26th CPSU Congress set a clear and consistent programme of struggle against the threat of war and for the strengthening of peace and security. This programme followed up and spelled out the Peace Programme of the 24th and 25th congresses to meet the situation that evolved in the early eighties. A number of new and important proposals were made:

— to work out joint measures to prevent the formation of hotbeds of military conflict;

— to extend the zones of confidence-building measures;

— to hold talks on confidence-building measures in the Far East;

— to discuss the international aspects of the Afghan question in conjunction with matters relating to the security of the Persian Gulf;

— to declare a moratorium on the deployment of new types of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe;

— to set up an international committee of scientists to study the consequences of a nuclear war;

— to call a special session of the Security Council with the participation of the top leaders of its member-states to look for ways of preventing war.

When L. I. Brezhnev, speaking from the rostrum at the 26th Party Congress, declared that "at present nothing is more essential and more important for any nation than to preserve peace and ensure the paramount right of every human being—the right to live", his words were addressed to the whole world.

The 26th CPSU Congress not only set down the directions for the creative activity of the Party and the Soviet people and their tasks in the struggle for peace during the eighties, but showed the whole of mankind that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stood and would continue to stand at the vanguard of the struggle for social progress and the strengthening of peace on earth.

CONCLUSION

The socialist renewal of society, like the progressive replacement of one socio-economic formation by another in the past, is a natural, historical process. This historically inevitable, law-governed process began with the Great October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the socialist social system first in one country alone, the USSR. Three decades later several other countries had also entered the path of socialist development and together with the Soviet Union formed the world socialist system.

The socialist countries amassed rich experience in the revolutionary transformation of the old, and the creation of the new, experience which has now become the possession of the world communist movement. But in the arsenal of scientific communism a special place must be allotted to the experience of the world's first socialist country.

What is the importance of the Soviet experience in building socialism and what can it teach us?

The October Revolution, which began the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism, is an example of the consistent

realisation of the theoretical conclusions of scientific communism on the ways and means to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism and the conditions under which this may be accomplished. It is an example of the consistent implementation of Lenin's theory of socialist revolution.

The socialist revolution in Russia took place fully in accordance with the laws of historical development and the path to it was laid by the whole course of capitalist development at its imperialist stage. All the necessary conditions for its success, both objective and subjective were present.

The most important factor in making the Russian proletariat ready for revolution, was the existence of Lenin's Party, tried and tested in the revolutionary movement and armed with scientific theory. Here, of course, it must be emphasised that the October Revolution was prepared by the whole course of development of advanced social thinking, the summit of which was Leninism.

The Soviet experience confirmed the correctness of the theoretical conclusion on the correlation between political revolution and the establishment of a socialist economy and culture. As distinct from bourgeois revolutions which brought politics in line with the capitalist economy and culture which had largely taken shape within the feudal socio-economic formation, the October Revolution was only the starting point and immediate precondition for the creation of a socialist economy and culture. It ushered in a period of transition during which bourgeois society underwent a revolutionary transformation into socialist society.

The main instrument of this revolutionary transformation was the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was the highest form of democracy, i.e., proletarian democracy, or democracy for the working majority. The victory of the socialist revolution and the achievement of its ultimate goals was unthinkable without the destruction of the bourgeois state machinery and the creation of a new state, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such a state was essential for crushing the resistance of the overthrown exploiter classes, for organising the building of socialism and for uniting all the working people behind the working class for that purpose.

Experience has shown that the dictatorship of the proletariat can exist in various forms. In the USSR it exists in the form of Soviets. Soviets in the USSR are the historically tested and expedient form of state power, that were developed by the working masses themselves. Experience also shows that within the dictatorship of the proletariat there can exist, as the guiding and directing force, either a single Communist party, or together with it other political parties can be represented provided they cooperate willingly with it. In the USSR there is only one ruling party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But whatever the forms that the dictatorship of the proletariat assumes, the political power of the working class headed by the Communist party is the essential condition for the victory of socialism.

The victory of socialism and its complete consolidation welded the Soviet people into an indissoluble entity with the result that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat became the state of the whole people, i.e., a state in which the whole of society, all of the people became politically organised under the leadership of the working class. This was a new important step in the further development of socialist democracy.

The October Revolution and the subsequent socialist renewal of the country were achieved through the historical creativity of the masses. This is one of the radical and fundamental characteristics of the establishment and development of socialism as compared with the development of pre-socialist formations and revolutions made within their framework. The masses of the people have always been the main force of revolutions, but in the revolutions of the past, particularly the bourgeois revolutions, they participated spontaneously, doing all the work for others. In the October Revolution, however, which was genuinely socialist, the masses of the people, led by the working class and inspired by the Communist Party, acted consciously for the first time in history, making the revolution for themselves, on their own initiative and in the name of their own interests and ideals. The conscious creative activity of the working people acquired even greater significance later on in the course of building and perfecting socialism. This found expression in such a remarkable phenomenon as socialist emulation, a phenomenon unheard of in the past and inherent only in a socialist social structure where

socialist relations characterise the attitudes of people to work and to each other.

The main vehicle of the socialist consciousness of the Soviet people, the main moral and physical motive force of socialism is the working class. Speaking about the leading role of the working class in the very early days of socialist construction, Lenin stressed that "only this class can help the working masses unite, rally their ranks and conclusively defend, conclusively consolidate and conclusively build up a communist society".[1] History has fully borne out these words. All its successes socialism in the USSR owes to the Soviet working class.

Through the creative efforts of the Soviet people and the Communist Party a socialist society was built in the USSR, which has now reached its mature stage. And this great feat is all the more glorious for the fact that it was performed in the face of many hardships and obstacles.

The difficulties of building socialism in the USSR were due to many reasons, three of which stand out particularly. Firstly, there was the social, economic, technological and cultural backwardness of the country, which it inherited from pre-revolutionary Russia. This meant that much more effort and time were required for the progress of socialism. Whereas for a number of historical reasons, Lenin pointed out, it was easier to begin a proletarian revolution in Russia, its continuation to ultimate victory in the sense of the complete organisation of a socialist society was much harder.

Secondly, the Soviet people were the first in the history of the world to experiment with the socialist transformation of society. They had to travel along an unknown road. Lenin wrote that Russia had taken on the initiative of accomplishing the socialist revolution and this "imposed unprecedented difficulties on us, and on our country".[2] These were the difficulties that faced the trail-blazer, the difficulties of continuous search

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 292.

[2] V. I. Lenin, "Speech Delivered at the Fourth All-Russia Congress of Garment Workers, February 6, 1921", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 112.

and experiment, in the course of which mistakes were unavoidably made. Finally, the specific features of and difficulties facing the country resulted from the fact that the USSR was forced to effect the building of socialism over a period of thirty years during which it was the only country of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world and surrounded by hostile capitalist states. The Soviet Union not only received no help or support from the capitalist states, it was actually held in a state of siege by them. In the space of thirty years the Soviet Union was forced to wage two long and hard wars lasting a total of eight years against the shock forces of international imperialism and then spend a further ten years in rebuilding the country after the destruction caused by the wars.

But despite all these difficulties the Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU overcame all the obstacles in their way, and in a historically short time they put into practice Lenin's plan for building socialism in the USSR. They successfully achieved such grandiose and complex goals as the industrialisation of the country, the collectivisation of agriculture, the cultural revolution and the liquidation of the factual inequality that had existed between the peoples of the USSR. Subsequently these enormous achievements in the development of Soviet society led to the ultimate and complete victory of socialism and later to the creation of developed socialism.

In his report to the 24th CPSU Congress Leonid Brezhnev said: "In our country, it will be recalled, socialism triumphed back in the latter half of the thirties. This was followed by more than three decades of the Soviet people's heroic labour and struggle. Our economy of that time and our present-day economy are based on the same type of relations of production, on the same economic laws, the laws of socialism. However, there are unmistakable important new features that distinguish the modern economy from the economy of the late thirties... The developed socialist society to which Lenin referred in 1918 as to the future of our country has been built by the selfless labour of the Soviet people."[1]

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[1] L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles*, pp. 365-66.

The outstanding achievements of socialism were crowned by the new 1977 Constitution of the USSR, the Constitution of a developed socialist society, which gave legislative embodiment to the real achievements of the Soviet people. But at the same time the Constitution which envisages continuous progress and improvement of Soviet society, contains a programme for the future setting of new goals for the Soviet people.

With the establishment of developed socialism substantial new changes began to take place in the social structure of Soviet society. The process is underway whereby distinctions between industrial and agricultural work, the social and economic distinctions between workers and peasants and differences between physical and mental labour are being erased at an increasing pace. In a word, further social integration is taking place and Soviet society is becoming increasingly socially homogeneous.

Developed socialism marks a new stage in the history of nations and national relations in the USSR. The individual nations and nationalities are not only flourishing, they are drawing closer together and their life is being internationalised.

The integral expression of the radical changes in social, class and national relations that have taken place over the years of socialist construction is the Soviet people themselves, which represent an historically new community. Having to all intents and purposes formed by the end of the transition period on the basis of the victory of socialism, the community achieved full maturity and cohesion during the period of developed socialism. At the same time the Soviet people's creative powers and life-giving force continued to steadily increase.

Socialism is not a short period, but a long phase of the communist formation. The fundamental tasks confronting the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people at the present stage are to perfect the socialist social system, reap the full benefit of the advantages that socialism has over capitalism and achieve a decisive victory in economic competition with it.

In international relations the Soviet Union has consistently and firmly pursued an internationalist policy of strengthening and developing fraternal cooperation with the other socialist coun-

tries and offering all-round aid to the democratically developing countries. At the same time the USSR has undeviatingly adhered to the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social and political systems. The preservation of peace is the most important task of Soviet foreign policy.

Firmly relying on the experience of socialist construction, the Soviet people led by the Party of Lenin are working selflessly towards their communist future.